United Nations S/PV.4731

Security Council

Fifty-eighth year

Provisional

4731st meeting

Friday, 28 March 2003, 12.25 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Traoré	(Guinea)
Members:	Angola	Mr. Lucas
	Bulgaria	Mr. Tafrov
	Cameroon	Mr. Chungong Ayafor
	Chile	Mr. Valdés
	China	Mr. Jiang Jiang
	France	Mr. De La Sablière
	Germany	Mr. Pleuger
	Mexico	Ms. García Guerra
	Pakistan	Mr. Khalid
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Spain	Ms. Menéndez
	Syrian Arab Republic	Mr. Wehbe
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Harrison
	United States of America	Mr. Negroponte

Agenda

International Criminal Tribunal for the Prosecution of Persons Responsible for Genocide and Other Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law Committed in the Territory of Rwanda and Rwandan Citizens Responsible for Genocide and Other Such Violations Committed in the Territory of Neighbouring States between 1 January and 31 December 1994

Letter dated 6 March 2003 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2003/290)

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.

03-29997 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 12.25 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

International Criminal Tribunal for the Prosecution of Persons Responsible for Genocide and Other Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law Committed in the Territory of Rwanda and Rwandan Citizens Responsible for Genocide and Other Such Violations Committed in the Territory of Neighbouring States between 1 January and 31 December 1994

Letter dated 6 March 2003 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2003/290)

The President (*spoke in French*): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/2003/290, which contains the text of a letter dated 6 March 2003 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council regarding the nominations which have been received for ad litem judges of the International Tribunal for Rwanda. In this connection, the members of the Council will note the information contained in the Secretary-General's letter.

Members of the Council also have before them the draft of a letter that I, as President of the Council, would propose to send to the Secretary-General in reply to the aforementioned letter, informing him of the Council's decision to extend the deadline for nominations of ad litem judges of the Tribunal until 15 April 2003. In the absence of objections, I shall assume that the Security Council agrees that I should send this letter as drafted to the Secretary-General.

It is so decided.

The letter will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/2003/379.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 12.30 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.4731/Corr.1

Security Council

Fifty-eighth year

Provisional

4731st meeting

Friday, 28 March 2003, 12.25 p.m.
New York

Corrigendum

Page 2, second column, third full paragraph

The document symbol *should read* S/2003/382

03-31041 (E)

United Nations S/PV.4732

Security Council

Fifty-eighth year

Provisional

4732nd meeting

Friday, 28 March 2003, 12.30 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Traoré	(Guinea)
Members:	Angola	Mr. Gaspar Martins
	Bulgaria	Mr. Tafrov
	Cameroon	Mr. Belinga-Eboutou
	Chile	Mr. Valdés
	China	Mr. Wang Yingfan
	France	Mr. De La Sablière
	Germany	Mr. Pleuger
	Mexico	Ms. Garcia Guerra
	Pakistan	Mr. Akram
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Spain	Mr. Arias
	Syrian Arab Republic	Mr. Wehbe
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Jeremy Greenstock
	United States of America	Mr. Negroponte

Agenda

The situation between Iraq and Kuwait

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.

03-30098 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 12.30 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation between Iraq and Kuwait

The President (*spoke in French*): I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Iraq in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Mahmoud (Iraq) took a seat at the Council table.

The President (*spoke in French*): I welcome the presence of the Secretary-General.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/2003/381, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by Angola, Bulgaria, Cameroon, Chile, China, France, Germany, Guinea, Mexico, Pakistan, the Russian Federation, Spain, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution (S/2003/381) before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Angola, Bulgaria, Cameroon, Chile, China, France, Germany, Guinea, Mexico, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Spain, Syrian Arab Republic, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President (*spoke in French*): There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1472 (2003).

I shall now give the floor to those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. Akram (Pakistan): At the outset, I should like to express the appreciation of the delegation of Pakistan to Ambassador Gunter Pleuger and to the German delegation for the heroic efforts that they have made in the past several days to evolve this unanimous adoption of a resolution to provide humanitarian relief to the Iraqi people in this present hour of their need.

This effort, and the outcome which we have achieved this morning, is a positive signal that the Security Council can be restored to the path of unity and that we can, even in difficult circumstances, act together when the political will of our Governments can be combined around a common cause.

Pakistan's principal concern, even before the onset of hostilities, was the welfare of the Iraqi people. We believe that the Iraqi people, who have suffered for a dozen years under sanctions, should not be made to pay doubly by the outbreak of hostilities which were no fault of theirs.

The Government of Pakistan has announced that it is prepared to provide emergency relief assistance to the people of Iraq, and we stand ready to do so as soon as arrangements can be made. We have allocated amounts of foodstuffs, tents, blankets, medicines and medical equipment. Pakistani medical teams are prepared to proceed on short notice to Iraq for this purpose.

We joined in sponsoring the draft resolution because we believed that the international community needed to respond rapidly and appropriately to the needs of the Iraqi people. We would, however, wish to underline once again that there are certain principles which will guide our position today and in future with regard to dealing with the rights and conditions of the Iraqi people.

First, we would consistently demand respect for the inalienable rights of the people of Iraq, including over their natural resources. We are glad that the resolution takes account of this principle.

Secondly, the situation in which the Iraqi people find themselves is not one of their own making. Therefore, in the provision of humanitarian assistance and in future, we must be circumspect and ensure that the Iraqi people are not called upon to pay the additional costs which the current conflict may impose on the operations of the oil for food programme.

The resolution has authorized the Secretary-General to undertake humanitarian assistance for Iraq. First and foremost, we believe that the response of the international community to the adoption of this resolution should be a positive response to the Secretary-General's flash appeal of yesterday seeking funds from the international community for the Iraqi people. We trust that the unanimity which has been displayed in the Council will be reflected in the unanimity of the international community's positive response to the Secretary-General's appeal.

Finally, let me just say that the Secretary-General will need to coordinate his activities in Iraq with those who happen to be in actual control of any part of that country. We have accepted that reality in this resolution, but this is without prejudice to our view on the legality or otherwise of the situation which the Secretary-General may find on the ground in the operation of the programme of assistance for the Iraqi people.

Mr. Wehbe (Syrian Arab Republic) (*spoke in Arabic*): In accordance with the position of the Syrian Arab Republic — which is committed to the resolutions of international legitimacy — and with the role of the United Nations and the need to revitalize that role in response to the humanitarian needs of the brotherly Iraqi people by restarting the oil for food programme, and in the light of the fact that the Security Council adopted this resolution as the first resolution to address the repercussions of the American-British invasion of Iraq, the Syrian Arab Republic would like to stress that it voted in favour of the resolution for humanitarian purposes, as its sole objective is to relieve Iraqi citizens' suffering, which has reached new heights as a result of this war.

Our vote should in no way be construed as an acceptance of the American-British occupation; it should be understood as an attempt to continue to work to put an end to that occupation and to achieve the withdrawal of the invading forces from the Republic of Iraq. In addition, our vote should not be interpreted by any side as granting legitimacy to the invasion. The resolution's contents — including the references in operative paragraphs 4 and 5 to the Secretary-General undertaking certain measures as an urgent first step and performing additional functions as a second step — mean only that we are trying to cooperate with the current Iraqi Government in that urgent work.

Mr. Lavrov (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): We have just unanimously adopted a resolution as a step that we were obliged to take in connection with the need to resolve the Iraqi population's humanitarian problems caused by the military actions of the United States and the United Kingdom against Iraq. First and foremost, those problems should be solved on the basis of the Fourth Geneva Convention, under whose provisions those who began this war bear responsibility for meeting the civilian population's humanitarian needs. Indeed, this resolution reaffirms that responsibility.

With regard to the United Nations humanitarian programme for Iraq, the resolution's adjustments to the programme have a technical and provisional nature and make it possible to use contracts that have been signed but not yet implemented in order to solve individual practical humanitarian issues caused by the war. The resolution does not change the essence of the humanitarian programme, and it fully retains the Security Council's control over the United Nations special account that is accumulating revenue from the export of Iraqi oil.

The adoption of the resolution, of course, in no way signifies any type of legitimization of the military action being carried out by the coalition in violation of the Charter of the United Nations. The resolution clearly calls the participants in the coalition "occupying Powers" whose actions on the occupied territory must be guided strictly by all norms of international humanitarian law, without exception. The resolution casts no doubt on Iraq's sovereignty and territorial integrity, and it requires respect for the right of the Iraqi people to independently decide their own political future and to exercise control over their natural resources.

Mr. Pleuger (Germany): I did not intend to take the floor, but since other delegations have made their views known after the voting, I thought that, as we have been working hard over the past week under the Secretary-General's mandate as Chair of the Security

Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 661 (1991) concerning Iraq, I should just like to say a few words.

First, I should like to welcome the presence of the Secretary-General, who shows by his presence how important this resolution is, and to thank our collaborators in all delegations — not only in the German delegation — for the work that they have done. The negotiations were very difficult, because many complicated issues had to be addressed. I should also like to thank our collaborators and my colleagues around this table for their spirit of compromise, which enabled us to produce a draft resolution that could be adopted by consensus. I understand, of course, that if you negotiate a compromise, it can never satisfy everyone in every respect. Therefore, I am particularly grateful for the spirit of compromise and cooperation that we found, which led 14 members of the Council to sponsor the draft resolution and led to a unanimous vote in the end.

I should like to make two points that I think are important for the general public, which has been waiting for this decision to be taken for the whole of the past week.

First, I believe it is important that, after a very heated debate on the complicated Iraq issue over the past six weeks, the Security Council found its way back to a unity of purpose, which was to provide Iraq's suffering people with necessary humanitarian goods.

My second important point is that we have enabled the Secretary-General and the Office of the Iraq Programme to restart the oil for food programme as soon as the situation on the ground permits. Once again, I should like to stress the dimension of this task. We heard from the Secretary-General that the food basket consists of 80 per cent of the goods coming from the oil for food programme. Sixty per cent of the people of Iraq depend on those rations: that is more than 40 million people who must be fed. They had to be fed before the war, they need food more now, and they will need it even more after the war.

I think the fact that the Security Council has taken this decision to enable the Secretary-General to feed Iraq's suffering population is a positive signal, and it has been strengthened by the adoption of the resolution by consensus in the Secretary-General's presence. It is a signal to the people of Iraq that they have not been forgotten, and it is a signal to the international community and to international humanitarian organizations that they must do whatever they can to alleviate the plight of a suffering people.

Mr. Negroponte (United States of America): I should like to thank the Secretary-General for his presence here this morning and for the initiative he took in proposing that we work on this resolution. I think that today's Security Council vote modifying the oil for food programme marks an important step which the United States has favoured from the moment that United Nations personnel were withdrawn and the programme was suspended. We join others in welcoming the strong show of support by Council members for this resolution, which helps address the immediate needs of the people of Iraq.

We also thank the German delegation, led by Ambassador Pleuger, for the leadership they have shown in the negotiations over the past week which lead to the achievement of this resolution. Last, but certainly not least, we have benefited immensely from the advice and counsel of Mr. Benon Sevan, the Executive Director of the Office of the Iraq Programme, who has been with us throughout this process. We thank him very much.

We have full confidence that the Secretary-General and the United Nations Office of the Iraq Programme will effectively carry out the important task of resuming the programme in the weeks ahead. For its part, the United States will facilitate the necessary coordination on the ground in Iraq between coalition authorities and the United Nations and associated relief agency staff, as oil for food supplies and other humanitarian assistance arrive and are distributed as circumstances on the ground permit.

The resumption of the oil for food programme complements extensive United States efforts to address the humanitarian needs of the people of Iraq. Humanitarian aid from a variety of sources is already beginning to arrive. The International Committee of the Red Cross and the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies are on the ground providing humanitarian assistance. Our own bilateral humanitarian aid commitments will remain robust and long-term. We urge all governments and donors to contribute generously in this effort.

The United States is gratified that the Council has been able come together to take this step to meet the immediate humanitarian needs of the people of Iraq.

Today's vote will translate into concrete results on the ground. We welcome that. The people of Iraq have suffered too long under circumstances not of their own choosing and under a regime whose days are numbered.

Mr. De La Sablière (France) (*spoke in French*): I welcome the presence of the Secretary-General, who had warned us about these problems and who supported us throughout the discussions, reminding us, time and again, of the emergency nature of our work so we would arrive at an agreement on the text as soon as possible.

The French delegation is gratified at the result, the adoption of this very important text to enable the Iraqi people to receive the necessary food and medical supplies as soon as possible. It was important that the text recall principles, humanitarian law instruments, in particular the Geneva Conventions, humanitarian access to the populations and Iraqi sovereignty over its resources. We also benefited from Mr. Benon Sevan's assistance in order to find the necessary technical adjustments to the oil for food programme in order to meet the most pressing needs. We fully trust the Secretary-General to implement the mandate we have now entrusted to him.

The French delegation was a sponsor of this text. It worked actively to ensure that the result would be rapidly forthcoming. We were worried when discussions lagged, and were very glad that results were achieved. We would like to pay tribute to the work of Ambassador Pleuger who helped us tremendously in finding this consensus.

In conclusion, we are glad the Security Council, on the basis of this humanitarian text, has recovered its unity. That is also a very important result.

Mr. Tafrov (Bulgaria) (*spoke in French*): Bulgaria welcomes the fact that the Council has unanimously adopted this resolution, which deals with an especially urgent matter of major importance. First, we are grateful to Ambassador Pleuger and the German delegation for the excellent work they have done in recent days. I will repeat what I said yesterday. For Bulgaria, the adoption of this resolution would not have been possible without the political as well as moral prestige of the Secretary-General, who has brought all of his weight to bear behind these proposals. His influence and prestige have enabled us to regain our unity today. Bulgaria welcomes this as do other delegations.

Mr. Arias (Spain) (*spoke in Spanish*): I offer sincere congratulations to the German Ambassador and his team for their untiring and generous efforts, sensitivity, perseverance and their great elegance in leading this ship to a good port. I would like to reiterate the gratitude and appreciation of my delegation to the German Ambassador and his team.

After a few tense and somber days, today is an important day for the Council, due to the fact that it was able to unite to tackle a serious humanitarian issue.

As the Secretary-General aptly observed a few days ago, the peoples of the world might feel a sense of frustration when they witnessed what was happening in the United Nations Security Council. What happened today can serve to redress the situation, improve our image and restore the unity that must prevail in this important body.

The President (*spoke in French*): There are no further speakers inscribed on my list.

I would like, as the representative of Guinea, holding the presidency of this Council for the month of March, to express how gratified my delegation is at the unanimous adoption of this resolution on the emergency humanitarian situation in Iraq.

If this resolution had not been adopted, my delegation would be even sadder after all of our collective efforts during the month of March. The adoption of this resolution was indispensable to restoring the credibility of this body. In this regard, I thank the Secretary-General personally for his efforts to bring about this result, as well as the representative of Germany, our colleague Ambassador Pleuger, who did everything in his power during the entire week to establish unanimous support in the Council for this resolution. I thank him.

I now give the floor to the Secretary-General.

The Secretary-General: I am very happy we have been able to adopt this resolution unanimously. I think it augurs well for future tasks ahead of us. We have many challenging questions and I hope we will be able to approach those tasks with the same spirit.

The President (*spoke in French*): The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.

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United Nations S/PV.4732*

Security Council

Fifty-eighth year

Provisional

4732nd meeting

Friday, 28 March 2003, 12.30 p.m.

New York

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Members:	Angola	Mr. Gaspar Martins
	Bulgaria	Mr. Tafrov
	Cameroon	Mr. Belinga-Eboutou
	Chile	Mr. Valdés
	China	Mr. Wang Yingfan
	France	Mr. De La Sablière
	Germany	Mr. Pleuger
	Mexico	Ms. García Guerra
	Pakistan	Mr. Akram
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Spain	Mr. Arias
	Syrian Arab Republic	Mr. Wehbe
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Jeremy Greenstock
	United States of America	Mr. Negroponte

Agenda

The situation between Iraq and Kuwait

* Reissued for technical reasons.

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.

03-30098* (E)

The meeting was called to order at 12.30 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation between Iraq and Kuwait

The President (*spoke in French*): I welcome the presence of the Secretary-General.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/2003/381, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by Angola, Bulgaria, Cameroon, Chile, China, France, Germany, Guinea, Mexico, Pakistan, the Russian Federation, Spain, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution (S/2003/381) before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Angola, Bulgaria, Cameroon, Chile, China, France, Germany, Guinea, Mexico, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Spain, Syrian Arab Republic, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President (*spoke in French*): There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1472 (2003).

I shall now give the floor to those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. Akram (Pakistan): At the outset, I should like to express the appreciation of the delegation of Pakistan to Ambassador Gunter Pleuger and to the German delegation for the heroic efforts that they have made in the past several days to evolve this unanimous adoption of a resolution to provide humanitarian relief to the Iraqi people in this present hour of their need.

This effort, and the outcome which we have achieved this morning, is a positive signal that the Security Council can be restored to the path of unity and that we can, even in difficult circumstances, act together when the political will of our Governments can be combined around a common cause.

Pakistan's principal concern, even before the onset of hostilities, was the welfare of the Iraqi people. We believe that the Iraqi people, who have suffered for a dozen years under sanctions, should not be made to pay doubly by the outbreak of hostilities which were no fault of theirs.

The Government of Pakistan has announced that it is prepared to provide emergency relief assistance to the people of Iraq, and we stand ready to do so as soon as arrangements can be made. We have allocated amounts of foodstuffs, tents, blankets, medicines and medical equipment. Pakistani medical teams are prepared to proceed on short notice to Iraq for this purpose.

We joined in sponsoring the draft resolution because we believed that the international community needed to respond rapidly and appropriately to the needs of the Iraqi people. We would, however, wish to underline once again that there are certain principles which will guide our position today and in future with regard to dealing with the rights and conditions of the Iraqi people.

First, we would consistently demand respect for the inalienable rights of the people of Iraq, including over their natural resources. We are glad that the resolution takes account of this principle.

Secondly, the situation in which the Iraqi people find themselves is not one of their own making. Therefore, in the provision of humanitarian assistance and in future, we must be circumspect and ensure that the Iraqi people are not called upon to pay the additional costs which the current conflict may impose on the operations of the oil for food programme.

The resolution has authorized the Secretary-General to undertake humanitarian assistance for Iraq. First and foremost, we believe that the response of the international community to the adoption of this resolution should be a positive response to the Secretary-General's flash appeal of yesterday seeking funds from the international community for the Iraqi people. We trust that the unanimity which has been

displayed in the Council will be reflected in the unanimity of the international community's positive response to the Secretary-General's appeal.

Finally, let me just say that the Secretary-General will need to coordinate his activities in Iraq with those who happen to be in actual control of any part of that country. We have accepted that reality in this resolution, but this is without prejudice to our view on the legality or otherwise of the situation which the Secretary-General may find on the ground in the operation of the programme of assistance for the Iraqi people.

Mr. Wehbe (Syrian Arab Republic) (*spoke in Arabic*): In accordance with the position of the Syrian Arab Republic — which is committed to the resolutions of international legitimacy — and with the role of the United Nations and the need to revitalize that role in response to the humanitarian needs of the brotherly Iraqi people by restarting the oil for food programme, and in the light of the fact that the Security Council adopted this resolution as the first resolution to address the repercussions of the American-British invasion of Iraq, the Syrian Arab Republic would like to stress that it voted in favour of the resolution for humanitarian purposes, as its sole objective is to relieve Iraqi citizens' suffering, which has reached new heights as a result of this war.

Our vote should in no way be construed as an acceptance of the American-British occupation; it should be understood as an attempt to continue to work to put an end to that occupation and to achieve the withdrawal of the invading forces from the Republic of Iraq. In addition, our vote should not be interpreted by any side as granting legitimacy to the invasion. The resolution's contents — including the references in operative paragraphs 4 and 5 to the Secretary-General undertaking certain measures as an urgent first step and performing additional functions as a second step — mean only that we are trying to cooperate with the current Iraqi Government in that urgent work.

Mr. Lavrov (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): We have just unanimously adopted a resolution as a step that we were obliged to take in connection with the need to resolve the Iraqi population's humanitarian problems caused by the military actions of the United States and the United Kingdom against Iraq. First and foremost, those problems should be solved on the basis of the Fourth Geneva Convention, under whose provisions those who began this war bear responsibility for meeting the civilian population's humanitarian needs. Indeed, this resolution reaffirms that responsibility.

With regard to the United Nations humanitarian programme for Iraq, the resolution's adjustments to the programme have a technical and provisional nature and make it possible to use contracts that have been signed but not yet implemented in order to solve individual practical humanitarian issues caused by the war. The resolution does not change the essence of the humanitarian programme, and it fully retains the Security Council's control over the United Nations special account that is accumulating revenue from the export of Iraqi oil.

The adoption of the resolution, of course, in no way signifies any type of legitimization of the military action being carried out by the coalition in violation of the Charter of the United Nations. The resolution clearly calls the participants in the coalition "occupying Powers" whose actions on the occupied territory must be guided strictly by all norms of international humanitarian law, without exception. The resolution casts no doubt on Iraq's sovereignty and territorial integrity, and it requires respect for the right of the Iraqi people to independently decide their own political future and to exercise control over their natural resources.

Mr. Pleuger (Germany): I did not intend to take the floor, but since other delegations have made their views known after the voting, I thought that, as we have been working hard over the past week under the Secretary-General's mandate as Chair of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 661 (1991) concerning Iraq, I should just like to say a few words.

First, I should like to welcome the presence of the Secretary-General, who shows by his presence how important this resolution is, and to thank our collaborators in all delegations — not only in the German delegation — for the work that they have done. The negotiations were very difficult, because many complicated issues had to be addressed. I should also like to thank our collaborators and my colleagues around this table for their spirit of compromise, which enabled us to produce a draft resolution that could be adopted by consensus. I understand, of course, that if you negotiate a compromise, it can never satisfy

everyone in every respect. Therefore, I am particularly grateful for the spirit of compromise and cooperation that we found, which led 14 members of the Council to sponsor the draft resolution and led to a unanimous vote in the end.

I should like to make two points that I think are important for the general public, which has been waiting for this decision to be taken for the whole of the past week.

First, I believe it is important that, after a very heated debate on the complicated Iraq issue over the past six weeks, the Security Council found its way back to a unity of purpose, which was to provide Iraq's suffering people with necessary humanitarian goods.

My second important point is that we have enabled the Secretary-General and the Office of the Iraq Programme to restart the oil for food programme as soon as the situation on the ground permits. Once again, I should like to stress the dimension of this task. We heard from the Secretary-General that the food basket consists of 80 per cent of the goods coming from the oil for food programme. Sixty per cent of the people of Iraq depend on those rations: that is more than 40 million people who must be fed. They had to be fed before the war, they need food more now, and they will need it even more after the war.

I think the fact that the Security Council has taken this decision to enable the Secretary-General to feed Iraq's suffering population is a positive signal, and it has been strengthened by the adoption of the resolution by consensus in the Secretary-General's presence. It is a signal to the people of Iraq that they have not been forgotten, and it is a signal to the international community and to international humanitarian organizations that they must do whatever they can to alleviate the plight of a suffering people.

Mr. Negroponte (United States of America): I should like to thank the Secretary-General for his presence here this morning and for the initiative he took in proposing that we work on this resolution. I think that today's Security Council vote modifying the oil for food programme marks an important step which the United States has favoured from the moment that United Nations personnel were withdrawn and the programme was suspended. We join others in welcoming the strong show of support by Council members for this resolution, which helps address the immediate needs of the people of Iraq.

We also thank the German delegation, led by Ambassador Pleuger, for the leadership they have shown in the negotiations over the past week which lead to the achievement of this resolution. Last, but certainly not least, we have benefited immensely from the advice and counsel of Mr. Benon Sevan, the Executive Director of the Office of the Iraq Programme, who has been with us throughout this process. We thank him very much.

We have full confidence that the Secretary-General and the United Nations Office of the Iraq Programme will effectively carry out the important task of resuming the programme in the weeks ahead. For its part, the United States will facilitate the necessary coordination on the ground in Iraq between coalition authorities and the United Nations and associated relief agency staff, as oil for food supplies and other humanitarian assistance arrive and are distributed as circumstances on the ground permit.

The resumption of the oil for food programme complements extensive United States efforts to address the humanitarian needs of the people of Iraq. Humanitarian aid from a variety of sources is already beginning to arrive. The International Committee of the Red Cross and the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies are on the ground providing humanitarian assistance. Our own bilateral humanitarian aid commitments will remain robust and long-term. We urge all governments and donors to contribute generously in this effort.

The United States is gratified that the Council has been able come together to take this step to meet the immediate humanitarian needs of the people of Iraq. Today's vote will translate into concrete results on the ground. We welcome that. The people of Iraq have suffered too long under circumstances not of their own choosing and under a regime whose days are numbered.

Mr. De La Sablière (France) (*spoke in French*): I welcome the presence of the Secretary-General, who had warned us about these problems and who supported us throughout the discussions, reminding us, time and again, of the emergency nature of our work so we would arrive at an agreement on the text as soon as possible.

The French delegation is gratified at the result, the adoption of this very important text to enable the Iraqi people to receive the necessary food and medical supplies as soon as possible. It was important that the

text recall principles, humanitarian law instruments, in particular the Geneva Conventions, humanitarian access to the populations and Iraqi sovereignty over its resources. We also benefited from Mr. Benon Sevan's assistance in order to find the necessary technical adjustments to the oil for food programme in order to meet the most pressing needs. We fully trust the Secretary-General to implement the mandate we have now entrusted to him.

The French delegation was a sponsor of this text. It worked actively to ensure that the result would be rapidly forthcoming. We were worried when discussions lagged, and were very glad that results were achieved. We would like to pay tribute to the work of Ambassador Pleuger who helped us tremendously in finding this consensus.

In conclusion, we are glad the Security Council, on the basis of this humanitarian text, has recovered its unity. That is also a very important result.

Mr. Tafrov (Bulgaria) (*spoke in French*): Bulgaria welcomes the fact that the Council has unanimously adopted this resolution, which deals with an especially urgent matter of major importance. First, we are grateful to Ambassador Pleuger and the German delegation for the excellent work they have done in recent days. I will repeat what I said yesterday. For Bulgaria, the adoption of this resolution would not have been possible without the political as well as moral prestige of the Secretary-General, who has brought all of his weight to bear behind these proposals. His influence and prestige have enabled us to regain our unity today. Bulgaria welcomes this as do other delegations.

Mr. Arias (Spain) (*spoke in Spanish*): I offer sincere congratulations to the German Ambassador and his team for their untiring and generous efforts, sensitivity, perseverance and their great elegance in leading this ship to a good port. I would like to reiterate the gratitude and appreciation of my delegation to the German Ambassador and his team.

After a few tense and somber days, today is an important day for the Council, due to the fact that it was able to unite to tackle a serious humanitarian issue.

As the Secretary-General aptly observed a few days ago, the peoples of the world might feel a sense of frustration when they witnessed what was happening in the United Nations Security Council. What happened today can serve to redress the situation, improve our image and restore the unity that must prevail in this important body.

The President (*spoke in French*): There are no further speakers inscribed on my list.

I would like, as the representative of Guinea, holding the presidency of this Council for the month of March, to express how gratified my delegation is at the unanimous adoption of this resolution on the emergency humanitarian situation in Iraq.

If this resolution had not been adopted, my delegation would be even sadder after all of our collective efforts during the month of March. The adoption of this resolution was indispensable to restoring the credibility of this body. In this regard, I thank the Secretary-General personally for his efforts to bring about this result, as well as the representative of Germany, our colleague Ambassador Pleuger, who did everything in his power during the entire week to establish unanimous support in the Council for this resolution. I thank him.

I now give the floor to the Secretary-General.

The Secretary-General: I am very happy we have been able to adopt this resolution unanimously. I think it augurs well for future tasks ahead of us. We have many challenging questions and I hope we will be able to approach those tasks with the same spirit.

The President (*spoke in French*): The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.4733

Security Council

Distr.: General
2 April 2003

Original: English

Official communiqué of the 4733rd (closed) meeting of the Security Council

Held in private at Headquarters, New York, on Wednesday, 2 April 2003, at 3.30 p.m.

In accordance with rule 55 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, the following communiqué was issued through the Secretary-General in place of a verbatim record:

"On 2 April 2003, the Security Council, pursuant to annex II, sections A and B of resolution 1353 (2001), held its 4733rd meeting in private with the troop-contributing countries to the United Nations Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission (UNIKOM).

"The Security Council and the troop-contributing countries heard a briefing under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure by Mr. Hédi Annabi, Assistant Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations.

"The members of the Council had a constructive exchange of views with representatives of participating troop-contributing countries."

03-30663 (E) 020403

United Nations S/PV.4734

Security Council

Fifty-eighth year

Provisional

4734th meeting

Friday, 4 April 2003, 10.30 a.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Aguilar Zinser	(Mexico)
Members:	Angola	Mr. Gaspar Martins
	Bulgaria	Mr. Tafrov
	Cameroon	Mr. Tidjani
	Chile	Mr. Valdés
	China	Mr. Wang Yingfan
	France	Mr. De La Sablière
	Germany	Mr. Pleuger
	Guinea	Mr. Traoré
	Pakistan	Mr. Akram
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Spain	Mr. Arias
	Syrian Arab Republic	Mr. Mekdad
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Steven
	United States of America	Mr. Williamson

Agenda

Threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist acts

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.

03-30890 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 10.40 a.m.

Expression of thanks to the retiring President

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): As this is the first meeting of the Security Council for the month of April, I should like to pay tribute on behalf of the Council to His Excellency Mr. Mamady Traoré, Permanent Representative of Guinea to the United Nations, for his service as President of the Security Council for the difficult month of March 2003. I am sure I speak for all members of the Council in expressing deep appreciation to Ambassador Traoré for the great diplomatic skill with which he conducted the Council's business last month.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist acts

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Australia, Belarus, Brazil, Cambodia, Colombia, Fiji, Greece, India, Israel, Japan, Norway, Peru, the Philippines and the Republic of Korea in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Dauth (Australia), Mr. Ivanou (Belarus), Mr. Sardenberg (Brazil), Mr. Sun Suon (Cambodia), Mr. Giraldo (Colombia), Mr. Savua (Fiji), Mr. Vassilakis (Greece), Mr. Nambiar (India), Mr. Gillerman (Israel), Mr. Haraguchi (Japan), Mr. Kolby (Norway), Mr. De Rivero (Peru), Mr. Manalo (Philippines) and Mr. Sun Joun-yung (Republic of Korea) took the seats reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations and in the absence of objection, I shall take it that the Security Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Sir Jeremy Greenstock, Chairman of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 1373 (2001) concerning counter-terrorism.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I invite Sir Jeremy Greenstock to take a seat at the Council table.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. At this meeting the Security Council will hear a briefing by the Chairman of the Counter-Terrorism Committee, Sir Jeremy Greenstock.

At this particular juncture, I have the honour and privilege to state the following as President of the Security Council and on behalf of all its members.

The members of the Security Council wish to express to Ambassador Jeremy Greenstock their deep gratitude for his work chairing the Counter-Terrorism Committee established pursuant to resolution 1373 (2001). His leadership and great diplomatic skills, together with his firm conviction that the United Nations must play a central role in the fight against terrorism were all components of his successful chairmanship. Ambassador Greenstock has built a solid basis for the future work of the Counter-Terrorism Committee. He has also had the vision to initiate and promote a dialogue with other international, regional and subregional organizations.

We pay tribute to his outstanding performance, and we wish Sir Jeremy the very best.

I shall now give the floor to Sir Jeremy Greenstock, Chairman of the Counter-Terrorism Committee of the Security Council.

Sir Jeremy Greenstock: I thank you, Mr. President, for that statement. Nothing has given more momentum to the work of the Committee and of the Chair than the warm and consistent support of all my colleagues on the Council, and I thank them for that.

Thank you, Mr. President, for convening this meeting to review the work of the Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC) on the basis of the Committee's next quarterly work programme. We have absorbed and are working to implement ministerial instructions to the CTC within resolution 1456 (2003). The task of

guiding the implementation of this programme will rest with my successor, Ambassador Arias, and I wish him well.

The CTC's work programme for its seventh 90-day period, contained in document S/2003/387, builds on the solid foundation gained from 18 months' work. I should like to highlight for the Council two aspects: first, the excellent cooperation we have established with the vast majority of Member States; and secondly, the beginnings of a global network to tackle terrorism. Transparency and consistent hard work have been the instruments.

In 18 months, the CTC has received 343 reports from States and others. In response, it has sent 243 detailed letters in its efforts thoroughly to monitor the implementation of resolution 1373 (2001). For those furthest ahead, the CTC's comments and questions are moving from examining legislation to establishing that executive machinery exists, is sufficient and is functioning effectively. We do not expect every State to move at the same pace, but we do expect each State to move at its best possible pace.

The CTC will need to move ahead with both sensitivity and firmness as it gets into the detail of monitoring implementation. The existence of legislation was relatively easy to judge: it was there or it was not. But as we get into what the CTC has called stages B and C, the existence and then the utilization of Government machinery to prevent terrorist activities and to bring terrorists to justice, the CTC will need to deepen its understanding of what is required of States, and communicate that to Governments. There is no one standard pattern of counter-terrorism machinery for all countries. So, I am convinced that the CTC's tailored approach must continue.

States must be proactive in their response. The guidance is there. Log on to the CTC's web site, which is getting increasingly good as a source of information. Talk to our experts, who know where assistance might be found. Seek assistance from, or offer assistance to, your neighbours and partners. Set your own benchmarks or use your regional organizations to do this.

Because terrorism will not remain static. New threats will emerge. In January, our ministers highlighted weapons of mass destruction. We must at all costs prevent terrorists getting access to the materials used in chemical, biological, nuclear and other deadly weapons. I am pleased that the CTC will shortly meet representatives of those organizations and agencies with experience in this area: the International Atomic Energy Agency, the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons, the World Customs Organization and Interpol. The CTC will need to explore how it can broaden its cooperation with them, including in its exchanges with Member States.

I must mention here the States that need to do more to achieve full current compliance with the CTC. Three States have still not submitted even a preliminary report to the CTC. They are Sao Tome and Principe, Swaziland and Vanuatu. The Council should now decide what further action to take in this regard. The Council should also consider what action to take, if any, with respect to the 51 States that have not yet met the deadline set by the CTC for subsequent reports. All late submitters have been repeatedly contacted and offered the necessary assistance, and are in contravention of resolution 1373 (2001).

Could I recall that there is a self-interest reason for responding to the CTC. We have all seen, for instance in Bali and Mombasa, the effects a single terrorist outrage can have on tourism, investment, the economy, social structure and political stability of a whole region.

Counter-terrorism, in response, has now gone global, with the United Nations at the centre. The special meeting I hosted on 6 March brought together the representatives of some 60 international, regional and subregional organizations, all with counter-terrorism programmes. The event was important for establishing a global structure in concrete terms. Participants recognized that every organization had its own role to play and its own mandate. But they agreed that, by working together, everyone could shorten the journey and add more value to the fight against terrorism.

So what does creating a global network mean in practical terms? First, it means a better flow of information. The CTC's web site will be expanded to host the best information, in an user-friendly format, so that in one place an interested person can access information on assistance, regional activities, implementation kits for the conventions and every piece of collective best practice relevant to resolution 1373 (2001).

Secondly, the network must be exploited, so that best practice spreads quickly and easily. The CTC will further develop the list of contact points so that contacts are made as simple as possible. I encourage all States, and all international, regional and subregional organizations, to use these contact points, and the information about what others are doing, to develop collective action.

Now let me say a few words in my personal capacity. It is satisfying that the CTC has been complimented for the dynamism of its approach over the first 18 months. But there has also been criticism. Colleagues have asked: When is the CTC going to make a difference? When is it going to catch terrorists? How can it make a difference on the ground when it will not even say what terrorism is? They have accused the CTC of doing no more than push paper. These are perhaps understandable criticisms, but they are misguided ones.

First, there has been a real change in a huge number of capitals. There is an almost universal awareness of the threat of terrorism as a particularly hideous form of violent crime. This has led to revised legislation, in some States already in force, elsewhere working through the parliamentary system. Governments are understanding the connection between tackling terrorism and tackling organized crime and other illegal activity. They are on heightened alert for suspicious activity, including fund-raising. And they are beginning to recognize that the world has changed forever.

Secondly, the Committee has unlocked the potential of collective effort. I suspect that many participants in the 6 March meeting were surprised by the extent of existing best practice and experience, on which they can now capitalize. The international and regional organizations have understood that there is a standard of activity to follow. To keep up, they must become more professional, harnessing the activities of the international community, and sharing this with their member States. The 6 March meeting showed that regional organizations will be stronger, and will serve their members better, if they develop institutional capacity on counter-terrorism. They have also, like the CTC itself, recognized the link between resolution 1373 (2001) and other obligations, particularly those in the human rights field. The CTC will follow up this awareness.

I believe that collective effort will pay dividends, because no country can prevent terrorism in isolation. Parts of the world that never considered counter-terrorism before are now taking action. This was well illustrated by a meeting of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) in Botswana last week, attended by our own chief technical assistance expert, where participants grappled with issues such as how to prevent the movement of terrorists and terrorist-related goods in an open border region. I doubt whether, before the CTC came into existence, the members of SADC would have ever expected to tackle counter-terrorism alongside their traditional development agenda. But raising Government counter-terrorism capacity is a key part of development. Counter-terrorism policies must be mainstreamed into Government programmes and development programmes.

Only Governments working together can raise global counter-terrorism capacity. But they have to be organized. It took a horrific terrorist act less than five miles from this building to shake the international community into adopting the legally binding and global standards of resolution 1373 (2001). But memories can fade, and so can the call of responsibility. The vigour of a central, catalytic body can make a huge difference to the maintenance of global law and order in this vital field. The CTC has become that. And perhaps, one day, it may become something more: a full-time, professional and global body of experts, working under the Security Council but following up all the avenues which resolution 1373 (2001) has opened.

Speaking once again in my capacity as Committee Chairman, I cannot end without paying tribute to those most closely involved in our work over the past 18 months. The Committee's experts have brought to us their experience, their professionalism and their enthusiasm, and the CTC has relied on them fully. I thank the Secretariat for managing a voluminous paper flow, ensuring that we have meeting rooms and translation and interpretation as required, and overseeing the smooth running of the Committee. I thank the Vice-Chairmen through the past 18 months, Ambassadors Gaspar Martins, Lavrov, Koonjul, Valdivieso and yourself, Mr. President, for your wise guidance and immense dedication. I pay tribute to every member of the Committee, without exception, for his or her constant interest, patience and constructiveness over these 18 months. I would be

expected to add something else, which is the pride that I feel in the work of my own team in the United Kingdom delegation — Anna Clunes, Iain MacLeod, Juliette Gilbert, John Steven and Sue Broughton — in providing the intellectual and bureaucratic energy and innovation to fill the vacuum that stood in the world and in the Council on 4 October 2001 and in giving their dedication to the work of the Council and the Committee over that period. I thank them from the bottom of my heart.

It has been an honour to chair the CTC for its first 18 months, and I thank the members of the Security Council for the confidence they have placed in me. Ambassador Arias has a far more daunting challenge ahead of him, as the Committee gets into the meat of its important work. But he has all the qualities to succeed. I hope that we have given him a solid basis on which to continue. He can rely on the full support of the United Kingdom Government and the United Kingdom delegation in the period ahead.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): I thank Sir Jeremy Greenstock for his comprehensive briefing and for his leadership, which has laid a good basis for the future work of this Committee.

To enable us to conduct this meeting as efficiently as possible, I would request that statements be limited to seven minutes. The presidency intends to conclude the morning meeting at 1.10 at the latest. If necessary, we will continue after lunch.

Mr. Pleuger (Germany): Let me first of all, Sir, join you in thanking Ambassador Traoré for his skilful handling of the presidency during the month of March and assure you of our trust and support for your own presidency.

Germany remains fully committed to the fight against terrorism and to maintaining and strengthening the broadest possible international coalition against terrorism. Minister Fischer reaffirmed this commitment in his intervention on 20 January before the Council.

Terrorist networks must be destroyed; its perpetrators must be persecuted by all legal means. Our efforts so far have already yielded first results. Six weeks ago, a German criminal court sentenced an active supporter of international terrorism to a harsh prison term. In fact, this sentence by a Hamburg court was the very first criminal procedure ever brought against a member of the 11 September terrorist network.

We commend the Counter-Terrorism Committee for the increased attention it is devoting to the risk of terrorists' gaining access to weapons of mass destruction. Close cooperation with all relevant international institutions is imperative in this context. International instruments of arms control, disarmament and non-proliferation provide important tools for this end and must be strengthened accordingly.

At the same time, we attach particular importance to the dialogue with other civilizations, in particular with the Islamic world, with the aim of broadening common understanding for, and dealing with, the underlying causes of terrorism.

Our common fight must respect national and international law, human rights and the United Nations Charter. The rule of law must always prevail.

Strengthening the rule of law and efficient judicial and law enforcement structures worldwide is one of the main objectives of the Counter-Terrorism Committee. This Committee has been a landmark in the fight against terrorism.

Under the able leadership of its first Chairman, Sir Jeremy Greenstock, it has carried out its tasks with determination, dedication and transparency. We would like to pay tribute to Sir Jeremy for the excellent job he and his devoted team have done during the last 18 months.

Allow me a personal word: Ambassador Greenstock has shown that policy is driven not only by events, but also by a personality that combines vision with energy, creativity and professional skill. His name will remain connected to the CTC. If the CTC were a piece of art, there would be a little mark in the corner: "JF" — Jeremy *fecit*. The United Nations can build on what he has achieved, and he can be proud of his achievement. For that, he has our admiration and our gratitude.

We are confident that Ambassador Arias will continue to maintain the CTC's high profile by successfully responding to the challenges laid down in resolution 1373 (2001), and we will actively support him in this effort.

Germany will continue to assist third States in developing suitable measures to combat terrorism and

to coordinate this assistance with the Committee. We will spare no effort in order to enhance and invigorate the international coalition against terrorism, within the CTC and all other relevant organs of the United Nations.

To conclude, I would like to underline that this statement is complementary to the statement to be made later today by the Greek Presidency of the European Union, to which Germany fully subscribes.

Mr. Valdés (Chile) (*spoke in Spanish*): Allow me at the outset to congratulate you, Sir, on presiding over our work for this month. I wish also to express our admiration for the intelligent and dignified manner in which Ambassador Mamady Traoré conducted the work of the Council during a particularly difficult month.

My country welcomes the report submitted to the Council by Ambassador Jeremy Greenstock concerning the first 18 months of the existence of the Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC), which he chaired during that period in a very skilful and responsible manner. We also welcome the new work programme that he is presenting, jointly with the new Chairman of the Committee, for the seventh 90-day period.

However, before touching on the programme and its future development, I should like to voice my delegation's feeling of gratitude, which we in the Council all share, to Sir Jeremy for his outstanding performance. It fell to him to put into operation a Committee that was unprecedented in terms of the scope of its mandate and its jurisdiction. He faced the challenge of mobilizing the whole of the international community behind the common objective of a global and systematic anti-terrorism campaign. That was a massive task, delicate and replete with difficulties. The Committee today is indebted to the zeal, seriousness, transparency and boundless enthusiasm that Ambassador Greenstock brought to the task.

We sincerely wish Ambassador Inocencio Arias of Spain every success in the function which he is now undertaking. He can count on the fullest support of the Chilean delegation.

To date a tremendous effort has been made in the implementation of the resolutions established in this forum. Member States have contributed to this effort, as have regional, subregional and international organizations, the Secretariat and, naturally, the Committee, as I have already stated, and its team of independent experts. We are on the right course to expand the scope of work to cover the operational aspects of resolution 1373 (2001), as set out in the new quarterly work programme. We should also keep in mind the guidelines set out in the ministerial declaration adopted in resolution 1456 (2003).

In this same vein, we would highlight the need to continue to cooperate with States in order to enhance their capacity to combat terrorism. Technical assistance and guidance also play an important role in terms of the level of response that we expect from those States. The guidance notes and the information on sources of assistance to combat terrorism prepared by the Committee, which can be consulted on the Committee Web site, is a very valuable online information instrument which will help to facilitate the provision of assistance.

Another aspect that we need to bear in mind in developing the future work of the Committee, as rightly proposed in the new programme of action, is intensifying contacts with international, regional and subregional organizations in the wake of the successful meeting, held on 6 March, between the Committee and a group of such organizations. This will lead to improving the flow of information on, among other things, best practices, codes and international standards.

I wish also to express my thoughts about the origin of terrorist activities in various regions. In this regard, we look forward to the follow-up meeting that the Organization of American States will be holding shortly for representatives of regional and subregional organizations.

The recent meeting held by the representative of the Group of Experts with the Commission on Human Rights and those that the Committee will be holding with technical agencies and organizations whose activities relate to the control of the use of nuclear, chemical, biological or other kinds of lethal materials to assess how to enhance the effectiveness of global activities to combat terrorism in these areas indicate the dynamism that we desire to achieve in our dialogue with these organizations.

The Ministerial Declaration of 20 January urged member States to cooperate in resolving all the outstanding issues, with a view to adopting, by consensus, the comprehensive draft to combat

international terrorism and the draft convention to combat nuclear terrorism.

It is regrettable that the Special Committee, which met recently at Headquarters to pursue these negotiations, did not make significant headway in its work. Nonetheless, we hope that the effort will continue and that action in the normative area will not be paralysed.

Lastly, I wish to repeat what my country stated at this Council to the effect that in a globalized world the fate of each and every one of our countries is that of all peoples of the world. For this reason, combating terrorism is not merely an issue for Governments, but must involve the commitment of our civil societies, and it must take place in a framework of legitimacy, respect for the law and full observance of human rights.

In our Latin American region, marked for two decades by State terrorism, we well understand the need for maintaining the validity of these principles. For all who decide to combat terrorism using its methods degrades their own cause and proliferates the threat of terrorism. We are concerned that this principle be accepted by everyone.

Again, as a member of this Council, I reaffirm Chile's full commitment to the efforts of the Counter-Terrorism Committee and all the initiatives that the United Nations may undertake in order to eradicate this scourge.

As Chairman of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 1267 (1999), I would state once again that we intend to promote closer cooperation with the Counter-Terrorism Committee, with all the members of this body and with all the members of our Organization.

Mr. Williamson (United States of America): Mr. President, we, too, look forward to a productive month under your leadership. We join others in thanking our Guinean colleague for his leadership as Council President in March.

Eighteen months after the establishment of the Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC), the United States joins others in paying tribute to the work of the CTC Chairman, Ambassador Jeremy Greenstock, as he passes the baton to Ambassador Arias. Ambassador Greenstock's vision and vigorous and committed leadership has helped put the CTC at the centre of the international community's efforts to combat terrorism. His chairmanship was an outstanding success. I also take this opportunity to thank the United Kingdom delegation for all of the hard work and creative work that was necessary to keep up with such an energetic ambassador, and translating his vision into reality. In particular, I mention Anna Clunes, who was Ambassador Greenstock's indispensable right-hand person throughout his chairmanship, and his legal counsel, Iain MacLeod. They have done exceptional work. I also want to join in thanking the Vice-Chairman of the CTC and the CTC experts.

Unfortunately, terrorism remains a clear and present danger, an ongoing threat to international peace and security. It is a violent outrage that must be dealt with. In the last year, there have been major terrorist attacks in Bali and Kenya. Earlier this year, there was a terrorist attack against the United States consulate in Karachi, killing 2 Pakistani guards. Recently, there was an attack in the Philippines. Unfortunately, there continue to be frequent terrorist attacks in the Middle East and elsewhere.

It is not acceptable to intentionally target innocent civilians for violent attacks. The United Nations Security Council must continue our work to fight terrorism. This threat must be met. The United Nations has made a valuable contribution in setting norms against terrorism. The United Nations is doing important work through the 1267 Committee to interrupt the financial flow to terrorists, to force them out of their comfort zone, to diminish the capacity of terrorists to do their evil acts. And the United Nations is in a unique position to help build the capacity of the international community to fight terrorism. And through the Counter-Terrorism Committee, under the leadership of Ambassador Greenstock, the United Nations has begun to make this important contribution to the fight against terrorism.

As President Bush has said, the world is threatened by the risk of the world's most destructive weapons getting into the hands of the world's most vicious predators: terrorists of the world. Fighting terrorism and stopping the spread of weapons of mass destruction are critical to a safer, more secure world.

The Counter-Terrorism Committee's task is to increase the capability of every Member State to deal with terrorism. All Governments must take effective steps to ensure that there is no support, active or passive, for terrorism anywhere. Chairman Greenstock

saw early on that the Counter-Terrorism Committee could not accomplish this task alone. It needs the help of others. These include donors of assistance in the different substantive areas covered by resolution 1373 (2001) and international, regional and subregional organizations, enhancing the effectiveness of action against terrorism by their member States.

The special meeting of 6 March, which brought more than 65 other organizations together, will not only help solidify these relationships and raise the counter-terrorism profile in these organizations, but it will also reinforce the central role that the CTC plays in the international effort to increase capacity.

The United States is pleased that the Organization of American States (OAS) has agreed to hold a follow-up conference in Washington for regional and subregional organizations, and we look forward to providing support to the OAS on this initiative.

In its review of more than 300 reports from Member States to date, the Counter-Terrorism Committee is focused on identifying legislative gaps in States' capacity to fight terrorism and working with States and assistance providers to ensure that those gaps can be filled. This approach is paying dividends, but in order for the CTC to be effective, to remain credible, this work must translate into on-the-ground results.

As Ambassador Greenstock said at the Security Council in January, it is time for the Counter-Terrorism Committee to move up a notch. The CTC will soon be focusing on whether States are actually implementing the legal and political measures necessary to prevent terrorism, so that we can name and shame those States that fail to meet their responsibilities. Effective monitoring of Member States' actual on-the-ground efforts to implement resolution 1373 (2001) is necessary for the full global implementation of the resolution and for the continuing efficacy of the CTC. The CTC enjoys a strong mandate to monitor implementation, and this effort should be given high priority.

As the CTC begins to focus on effectiveness, it will need to go beyond the review of written reports. For example, we will have to determine whether States' police, intelligence, judicial, customs and immigration institutions are operating effectively. The United States believes that the Committee must expand its tool kit in order to conduct a credible review of these issues. For example, each CTC member should direct its overseas missions to analyse the written reports against the reality of implementation and share this analysis with the CTC and its experts. Moreover, the Counter-Terrorism Committee should request international, regional and subregional organizations to undertake such assessments, which can complement the work of the CTC without duplicating it. Organizations such as the World Bank, the World Customs Organization and the International Civil Aviation Organization are well placed to conduct these assessments. Such an approach would be an appropriate result of the 6 March Counter-Terrorism Committee special meeting.

In addition, we believe that some form of site visits might be necessary to ascertain the truth on the ground in certain instances. We look forward to discussing these and other ideas for enhancing the effectiveness of the Counter-Terrorism Committee during the early period of Ambassador Arias's chairmanship.

The work of the Committee established under resolution 1267 (1999) under the able leadership of Ambassador Valdés should also be noted. It, too, constituted a key part of the United Nations counter-terrorism effort. Security Council resolution 1455 (2003) rightly focuses on improved Member State implementation of the Al Qaeda Taliban sanctions regime.

The United States believes strongly that the counter-terrorism expectations for Member States should be set high. We all can and should do more to meet the challenged posed by terrorists, who continue to seek to destroy the very fabric that binds us together. We must remain ever vigilant in our effort to end the plague of terrorism and to protect our freedom. The United States strongly encourages willing and able States to do more, my own Government included. The United States can do better. We are still learning how to deal better with our ongoing threats at our own borders, in our skies and across our land.

The United States remains strongly committed to helping unable but willing States to achieve greater counter-terrorism successes. Increased assistance and capacity are key in this shared effort. The Counter-Terrorism Committee has made important strides that will require follow-up, both multilaterally and bilaterally.

Finally, the United States emphasizes that unwilling States, whatever the reason, must be encouraged and, indeed, pressured, as necessary, to do more. We cannot tolerate unwilling States to be the weak link that undermines the international community's shared counter-terrorism effort. These States must accept their obligation to the world at large. Ultimately, each Member State bears a special responsibility to fight terrorism. Those that harbour and support terrorists must be held accountable. They must be exposed, named and shamed. Shared vigilance must remain our watchword. Increased expectations, we believe, will result in increased accountability.

Although important progress has been achieved, the international community's counter-terrorism efforts remain incomplete. Shared attention and commitment will be needed for years to come. We cannot become complacent, nor afford to fail in our long-term counter-terrorism efforts. Too much is at stake, not just for America, but for all of us.

Before closing, allow me once again to thank Ambassador Greenstock for all of his efforts. We are confident that he has left the chairmanship in good hands, and pledge our full support to Ambassador Arias and his delegation during the coming period.

Mr. Traoré (Guinea) (*spoke in French*): Allow me, Sir, to extend once again the congratulations of my delegation on your assumption to the presidency of the Council during the month of April and to assure you of our full cooperation.

As I have already said, I know that the legacy that I have left you to take up is a heavy responsibility. Indeed, war is continuing in Iraq. The Council has not yet fully recovered from the differences that arose before the war. But thanks to your rich experience and your personal skills, I remain convinced that the Mexican presidency will be able to guide us during this difficult period for the sake of the unity and effectiveness of the Council.

I would like to thank you, and the other colleagues here, for the gratitude you expressed towards Guinea during its presidency in March 2003.

I would also like to thank Sir Jeremy Greenstock for his presentation, which has further briefed us on work of the Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC).

There is absolutely no doubt that terrorism, which is one of the scourges of our time, is antithetical to our Organization. The adoption of resolution 1373 (2001) and 1456 (2003), inter alia, and the establishment of the CTC by the Security Council have once again demonstrated our determination to combat this scourge robustly. My delegation welcomes the actions taken by the Committee to effectively carry out these resolutions.

The drafting of rules on the conduct of the work of the Committee, the making available to Member States the necessary guidelines for drawing up their national reports, the publication of lists of contacts, the coordination of the question of assistance and the creation of a Web site on this issue are clear evidence of the desire of the Committee and Member States to fully cooperate on this question.

We would like here to reiterate to the Chairman and members of the Committee, as well as support staff, our appreciation for the volume and high quality of the work that has been accomplished over the last year and a half by dint of their immense efforts.

My delegation particularly appreciated the personal devotion of Sir Jeremy Greenstock as well as the transparency with which he has constantly kept Member States and institutions informed of the activities of the Committee. This attests to his determination to cooperate with all parties to complete the mandate that was entrusted to him.

We have no doubt that the spirit that he has imparted to the Committee will continue to guide it. The professional skills of our colleague Ambassador Arias are a guarantee of that. We wish him every success in his new responsibilities as the Chairman of the Committee and assure him of our full cooperation.

My delegation cannot overstress the point that the campaign to combat terrorism is long-term endeavour. The success of any action to counter this scourge will continue to depend on the solidarity of members of the international community. This is why we appreciate the strengthening of contacts between the Committee and international, regional and subregional organizations to improve its ability as well as that of interested States to combat terrorism collectively.

We note with satisfaction the meeting of 6 March 2003 with these organizations and encourage the Committee to pursue efforts to follow up on that meeting.

We urge all States to assume their responsibilities for implementing resolution 1373 (2001). Moreover, we hope that the international community will give particular attention to the question of assistance to allow all players to shoulder their respective responsibilities for the effective implementation of the various resolutions.

My delegation welcomes the extension of the mandate of the Committee and urges it to continue its work with transparency and to focus its attention on the lessons learned from the 18 months of its existence in order to obtain better results. It supports the programme of work of the Committee for the seventh term.

Finally, my country, which has always strongly condemned terrorism and taken specific and energetic measures to eliminate it, will continue to contribute to this common endeavour.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): I thank the representative of Guinea for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Akram (Pakistan): May I take this opportunity to extend Pakistan's felicitations to Mexico and to you, Sir, and your delegation on your assumption of the presidency of the Council at this crucial moment in global affairs. Your task will be challenging, but we have no doubt that you will live up to the high expectations that we have all come to have of you. I also wish to express our great appreciation to our brother Ambassador Mamady Traoré of Guinea for the excellent discharge of his responsibilities at a critical period in the history of the United Nations.

Today we join others in expressing our warm appreciation to the Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC) for the role it has played and especially to Sir Jeremy Greenstock, Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom, for his outstanding and pioneering contributions in that context. We are sure that Ambassador Arias of Spain will be able to fill Sir Jeremy's shoes admirably.

Humanity has faced the phenomenon of terrorism in one form or another throughout history, but never before has the threat of terrorism possessed such vast potential or such universal reach. The events of 11 September 2001 have magnified, both in reality and in perception, the threat of terrorism to the world. No one can discount the danger of the use or the threat of use by terrorists of weapons of mass destruction or of other modern means of mass destruction. This is, indeed, a challenge unparalleled in history.

Pakistan has suffered from terrorism for several decades from various sources, internal and external. This challenge has, however, only strengthened our resolve to combat terrorism in all its forms and manifestations. Pakistan is proud of the role it has played as the front line in the fight against terrorism since 11 September 2001. We continue to interdict terrorists on our border with Afghanistan. Our successes in capturing more than 500 suspected terrorists — including some of the most senior members of Al Qaeda — have not come easily. We owe them in large part to the heroic efforts of our military and our law enforcement officials, many of whom have paid the ultimate sacrifice in this endeavour. We are grateful also for the international assistance and cooperation that have made it possible to apprehend some key suspects.

Pakistan has carefully noted the report of Ambassador Greenstock on the work of the CTC since its creation 18 months ago. We have also reviewed the seventh 90-day work programme and have noted the increased attention that the CTC is devoting to helping Member States in a practical way in receiving technical assistance to enhance their capacity for counter-terrorism. I should like to underline that what is important is that countries should take action against terrorism and that they should be provided with the resources and the ability to do so. We must not get caught up in procedures, processes and reporting requirements, which must be secondary to the actual action on the ground that is taken by States. The CTC has contributed by focusing on building the capacity of States to pursue anti-terror goals. The signature contribution of Sir Jeremy Greenstock and his able team has been outstanding.

Today, I should like to look a bit at the future. We believe that the United Nations should pursue its counter-terrorism goals with a clear strategic vision and within a comprehensive framework. The Security Council's debate today can help in developing both of them. A useful framework for United Nations action is contained in the tripartite strategy proposed last year by the Secretary-General's Policy Working Group on the United Nations and Terrorism. The strategy consists of, first, dissuading disaffected groups from embracing terrorism; secondly, denying groups or

individuals the means to carry out acts of terrorism; and thirdly, sustaining broad-based international cooperation in the struggle against terrorism. We also need to focus on both the operational measures and the structural mechanisms required to succeed in the counter-terrorism campaign.

Our work on counter-terrorism has proceeded with moral clarity and despite legal ambiguity. The absence of an agreed definition of terrorism is an obvious impediment to both the operational and the structural measures required to combat terrorism. In particular, in the campaign against terrorism, we must not allow any erosion of the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations -- especially the principles of equal rights and the self-determination of peoples. Nor should we exclude from the ambit of anti-terrorism the phenomenon of State terrorism, which is often the worst form of terrorism in the degree of suffering and destruction visited upon innocent people. In that context, we feel that it is imperative that the Security Council insist on the development of peaceful solutions to outstanding disputes and conflicts among States.

The philosopher Nietzsche one said, "He who fights against monsters should see to it that he does not become a monster in the process". Therefore, we believe that the CTC must devote further attention to the need to ensure the protection of human rights and the observance of international humanitarian law in the anti-terror campaign. The CTC could, for example, convene an informal working group that would include the participation of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, members of the Human Rights Commission and concerned non-governmental organizations as a useful way to identify concerns and possible solutions in this context.

For the long term, there is a need to address the underlying causes: the social and economic factors that contribute to the most proximate causes of terrorism. The existence of poverty, of course, does not directly lead to terrorism, but poverty weakens States and communities and creates the frustrations and desperation in which extremist beliefs and the proclivity to violence breed best.

The sixth preambular paragraph of resolution 1373 (2001) refers to acts of terrorism motivated by "intolerance or extremism". Pakistan has taken legal and political action against extremist groups within our society in order to combat extremism and manifestations of terrorism. But we have also noted — and we welcome — statements which say that the war against terrorism is not a war against Islam. This assurance must be given greater credibility at the political and operational levels.

There are at least three aspects which need to addressed. First, we need to promote greater mutual understanding among religions and cultures. Pakistan made a proposal to that end in the General Assembly, and we hope that this will contribute to this aspect.

Secondly, we must focus not only on Islamic extremism but on other forms of religious and ideological extremism which are manifested in various parts of the world. Today, I would like to draw attention to the terrorism which is promoted by certain extremist political and other parties which have been responsible for the massacre of thousands of Muslims — thousands of women and children — in areas adjacent to the territory of Pakistan. These groups are at present busy raising funds through so-called charities in richer countries, including this one. We are afraid that such funding will be used to finance acts of extremism and terrorism. We must try to find ways to put a stop to that.

Thirdly, the focus so far on terrorism spawned by extremists in the Islamic world should not be allowed to suppress the legitimate rights and aspirations of Muslim peoples and Islamic nations in various parts of the world. This is clearly the case in the context of the legitimate aspirations of the peoples of Palestine and of Jammu and Kashmir to exercise their right to self-determination, in accordance with the prescriptions of Security Council resolutions. It is unacceptable that the slogan of counter-terrorism should be used by the Government in New Delhi as the most convenient stick with which to beat back the rising tide of the Kashmiri struggle for freedom.

In his statement of 20 January at the ministerial meeting of the Security Council on combating terrorism, the Secretary-General said:

> "We are seeing too many cases where States living in tension with their neighbours make opportunistic use of the fight against terrorism to threaten or justify new military action on long-running disputes." (*S/PV.4688, p. 3*)

Last year witnessed the phenomenon of a terrorist incident being utilized by one State to justify a large-scale military mobilization and the threat of force. The resulting military confrontation almost led to a major war between two States which possessed nuclear weapons. It is essential to devise some safeguard mechanisms to prevent terrorist incidents and unsubstantiated allegations from becoming a casus belli for the use or threat of force, contrary to the United Nations Charter. One safeguard mechanism could be that, through the adoption of a decision by the Security Council, any allegation by one State against another that the latter was responsible for a terrorist act or incident must be investigated impartially, perhaps by a United Nations fact-finding mission or another United Nations mechanism. States should not be allowed to act as judge, jury and executioner or to use allegations of terrorism for the purposes of propaganda or, worse, for the threat of use of force or, worst of all, the use of force.

Mr. De La Sablière (France) (*spoke in French*): As this is the first occasion this month on which my delegation has taken the floor in the Council, I should like to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency. We are pleased to see you presiding over our work; we are confident that we are in good hands.

I should also like to take this opportunity to thank Ambassador Traoré for the transparency, skill and composure with which he guided our work during a month that was far from easy.

My delegation would like to associate itself in advance with the statement to be made later by the Permanent Representative of Greece on behalf of the European Union.

I should like to make some additional points in my national capacity.

In its 18 months of existence, the Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC) has accomplished remarkable work, which has been rightly recognized by all, in monitoring, pursuant to its mandate, the implementation by all States Members of the Organization of resolution 1373 (2001). This generally positive record is attributable in large part to the energy and dynamism of its Chairman, Ambassador Jeremy Greenstock. Like previous speakers, I would like to pay him and the other members of his delegation a well-deserved tribute. I have no doubt that the impetus that he has so effectively given to the work of the Counter-Terrorism Committee will be of great value for his successor, our Spanish colleague Ambassador Inocencio Arias, whom we are very pleased to see taking over the leadership of that Committee.

On several occasions, including during the ministerial meeting of the Security Council on 20 January, the Council rightly recognized and actively supported the significant work being done by the Counter-Terrorism Committee, with the valuable assistance of its independent experts, to secure implementation by all concerned of resolution 1373 (2001). Because of its multifaceted and global character, combating terrorism requires support and resolute action on the part of all. This genuine scourge is a universal threat to which no country, whatever its geographical situation or level of development, is immune.

That is why my country welcomes the impressive number, unprecedented in our Organization, of national reports submitted to the Counter-Terrorism Committee to date. Nonetheless, as the Council has already noted in resolution 1456 (2003) of 20 January, all States must submit their national report to the Committee, pursuant to resolution 1373 (2001) and in accordance with the timetable set therein. In this respect and if the need should arise, the experts of the Committee may give useful counsel and assistance to those few States that have yet to submit a report.

This universal participation in combating terrorism, however, will be neither possible nor effective unless those States that are experiencing difficulties in fully implementing the provisions of resolution 1373 (2001) are able to benefit from the financial and technical assistance that they genuinely need. The Counter-Terrorism Committee has already created some very useful instruments, such as the Directory of Counter-Terrorism Information and Sources of Assistance and, more recently, the Matrix of Assistance Requests, so as to facilitate and contribute to a better understanding of the needs that have been stated in this regard and the responses provided by States, regional or international organizations to requests for assistance that have been received. We must, however, seriously consider setting priorities among requests for technical assistance if we wish to make that assistance as useful as possible with respect to stated objectives. It is encouraging that the Committee has initiated this process.

It would be particularly useful in this respect for the Counter-Terrorism Committee, in the light of all the national reports submitted to it, to be better able to identify the difficulties of a general nature encountered in the effective implementation of resolution 1373 (2001). That would enable the Security Council, among others, to take the necessary measures, in a well-informed fashion, to remedy the problems that arise.

Lastly, I would recall that the French Foreign Minister, Mr. Dominique de Villepin, proposed in his statement to the Council in January that consideration be given to the creation, under United Nations auspices, of a cooperation and assistance fund intended, in close cooperation with the international financial institutions, to strengthen national counter-terrorism arrangements, particularly in countries of the South. Consideration of this proposal should be pursued in the coming weeks in the appropriate bodies of our Organization.

Moreover, France welcomes the vital cooperation in which the Counter-Terrorism Committee has engaged with regional or international organizations that have counter-terrorism competence and have developed programmes of action in that field. The meeting of 6 March between the Counter-Terrorism Committee and the representatives of those organizations was particularly useful in that regard. In addition to increasing the awareness of the actors concerned of the need to develop the fullest possible exchange of information, the meeting helped to highlight the important role that such organizations can and must play vis-à-vis their respective Member States in order to enhance and facilitate individual and collective action to counter the terrorist threat. Furthermore, in the context of its presidency of the Group of Eight, France is eager to strengthen technical assistance in combating terrorism, in support of the Counter-Terrorism Committee.

However commendable the work completed by the Counter-Terrorism Committee to date may be, it must nevertheless be qualitatively strengthened. It is important in particular for the Committee to ensure — to a greater extent than it has done to date, for reasons that are quite understandable — that the diverse legislative or administrative measures announced or taken by States to give full effect to the provisions of resolution 1373 (2001) are given concrete expression and adapted in practice.

It is heartening to note the Committee's readiness to undertake this course, as indicated by its programme of work for this quarter. The cooperation of regional or international organizations with the Committee on this point will be essential in many respects. Indeed, those among them that are already evaluating the implementation by their respective Member States of good practices, codes or standards that they have developed in the various areas of counter-terrorism should be ready to exchange information on this subject with the Counter-Terrorism Committee.

Mr. Arias (Spain) (*spoke in Spanish*): At the outset, I wish to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council. I wish you every success. I am certain that your intelligence, impartiality and clear-sightedness will be of great assistance to us all.

We wish also to congratulate Guinea on its presidency last month. The Guinean presidency did outstanding work at a historic, difficult and trying time, during which it demonstrated great flexibility and savoir faire.

I wish to express my thanks to the mission of the United Kingdom, and in particular to Ambassador Greenstock and First Secretary Anna Clunes, for their arduous and magnificent work during the first 18 months of the Counter-Terrorism Committee's existence. The Committee has been consolidated as the primary instrument of global cooperation against terrorism. This is due, to a great extent, to the wealth of professional qualities that make Ambassador Greenstock an irreplaceable diplomatic personality. I will do my very best to follow his example, however humbly.

Terrorism threatens all States and must therefore be addressed in concertation. Since it easily transcends borders, international cooperation is vital. The chairmanship of the Counter-Terrorism Committee, now assumed by Spain, is a great responsibility to which my country is fully sensitive. As all here are aware, we have suffered from terrible acts of terrorism for several decades and we have first-hand experience, unfortunately, of the horrific effects of that scourge. We are therefore firmly committed to addressing it resolutely, in which task the Committee is an essential tool.

We have received a significant legacy of work well done, in which the tirelessness and professional

skills of the experts assigned to the Committee and the Secretariat's services to the Council have also been essential. In that regard, I extend them our gratitude and assure them of our intention to continue to collaborate closely with them.

As Ambassador Greenstock has rightly stated, the Committee is entering a new phase in its work, qualitatively quite distinct from earlier phases. Up until now, we have focused on identifying the existence of national legislation; from now on, we will focus on the implementation and effectiveness of that legislation. The Committee has been working on the basis of three criteria that should continue to guide its path: the principles of cooperation, transparency and equal treatment. Cooperation between the Committee and international organizations and States will be increasingly important. This is of particular significance, and the Spanish chairmanship recognizes it as such. Evidence of this, as Sir Jeremy Greenstock stated, is the forthcoming meeting of representatives of the International Atomic Energy Agency, the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons and the World Customs Organization. We should not overlook the important role of the CTC as a catalyst and as an intermediary between those States that require assistance and those able to provide it.

The CTC's transparency has enabled the Committee to be perceived as an important tool in the fight against terrorism. In that regard, it is essential to develop, enhance and continually update the CTC web site in order to provide easy, fast and productive access to all States and international organizations.

Finally, equality of treatment must continue, enabling the CTC to be a genuinely universal tool that works with and assists all States, making possible their mutual enrichment by means of, inter alia, an exchange of experience leading to the improvement and development of the mechanisms of the fight against terrorism.

I conclude by appealing to the Security Council and to all Member States to continue working together, in accordance with the Charter, for the maintenance of international peace and security in the face of the global threat posed by terrorism. And of course, I wish to express my sincere gratitude to the members of the Council for the confidence in me that they have shown by electing me to head a task so important, so pressing, so crucial and so global in scope. I express my hope that I will be equal to the task.

Mr. Wang Yingfan (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): At the outset, I would like to congratulate Mexico on its assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of April. The Chinese delegation will fully support the presidency in its work. We are fully confident that under your leadership, Mr. President, the Security Council will deal successfully with the challenges it faces. The Chinese delegation is also grateful to Ambassador Traoré and the other members of the delegation of Guinea, who did outstanding work in historic and very difficult circumstances.

I also thank you, Sir, for presiding over this public meeting. As well, my thanks go to Sir Jeremy Greenstock, Chairman of the Security Council's Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC), for his statement on the Committee's work.

In the 18 months since its establishment, the CTC has worked to promote States' implementation of resolution 1373 (2001). At present, States either have adopted legislation on counter-terrorism and established mechanisms against terrorism or are in the process of doing so. All agree that remarkable progress has been made. On 6 March, the CTC successfully held a special meeting with international, regional and subregional organizations. Participants in the meeting exchanged views on how to further strengthen international cooperation to prevent and combat terrorism. It was a useful attempt towards establishing an international network against terrorism.

We support the seventh 90-day work programme that the CTC has adopted (S/2003/387, annex). I would like to take this opportunity to make two points on the next stage of the Committee's work. First, work on providing assistance on counter-terrorism should be further strengthened. Effective practical measures should be taken to help developing countries to build their counter-terrorism capacity so that they can better implement resolution 1373 (2001). In that regard, the CTC should urge developed countries to increase counter-terrorism assistance to developing countries.

Secondly, as mandated by resolution 1373 (2001), the CTC should continue to monitor the implementation of that resolution by States. We associate ourselves with Sir Jeremy Greenstock's statement that the CTC will have to move ahead with

both sensitivity and firmness in the field of monitoring and implementation. The CTC can actively make proposals on how countries can further implement resolution 1373 (2001). Those proposals should be effective, and practical and a tailored approach should be taken.

The plan of action to follow up the special meeting of the CTC refers to the Committee's intention to seek ways and means to alleviate the burden of reporting on countries. That is a common concern of all countries. We hope that the CTC and its experts will study that issue.

I would like to highlight the tireless efforts that Sir Jeremy Greenstock, as the first Chairman of the CTC, has made to carry out and promote international counter-terrorism. Under his leadership, the CTC has achieved significant results and has been praised by Member States. The Chinese delegation also highly appreciates the contributions made by the Vice-Chairmen and the support teams of the Chairman and the Vice-Chairmen.

Ambassador Arias will take over the chairmanship of the CTC. The Chinese delegation will fully support him in his work and is convinced that under the leadership of Ambassador Arias, the CTC will make further progress on the basis of lessons learned from its past work.

Mr. Gaspar Martins (Angola): I would like to start by congratulating you, Sir. I am very pleased at your assumption of the presidency for the month of April. Allow me to reiterate our thanks to Ambassador Traoré for the brilliant way that he guided the work of the Council during the month of March; our thanks go also to the entire delegation of Guinea.

By adopting resolution 1373 (2001), the international community took a far-reaching step forward in the global fight against terrorism. Through the establishment of a set of mandatory provisions and the creation of the Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC) to monitor implementation of the resolution by all States, the Security Council took the effective lead in this fundamental combat against one of the main threats to international peace and security that the world faces today.

It is on the work produced by the Counter-Terrorism Committee that we concentrate our attention today. In that respect, we would like to express our appreciation to Ambassador Jeremy Greenstock, who, with unique energy and determination, has conducted the work of the Committee since its inception. Now that his mandate draws to a close, we fully endorse his declared intention, expressed during the Security Council meeting on 20 January, when he referred to the Committee as one with a sense of purpose, direction and momentum. He now entrusts the Committee to the new Chairman, Ambassador Arias.

We wish Ambassador Greenstock all the best. To Ambassador Arias, we wish the best of luck in conducting the Committee, and we take the opportunity to ensure him of our full cooperation. As Vice-Chairman of the Committee, and after having gone through an initial period of adjustment, we are now more knowledgeable of the Committee's methods and procedures, which will allow us to perform better.

The fight against terrorism requires sustained, long-term and global action, with the United Nations playing a central role in combining its own leadership with national efforts. It has been fully understood by the international community that States are primarily responsible for adopting measures aimed at combating the financing of terrorism and preventing all active and passive support for terrorism, in compliance with the relevant Security Council resolutions, particularly 1373 (2001), which imposes binding measures on all States.

The Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC) was created as an instrument of the Security Council to promote the implementation, by Member States, of all aspects of the resolution. After one and a half years of work, the Committee finds itself at a critical juncture. First, with the sound teamwork built around the outstanding chairmanship of Ambassador Greenstock and, secondly, having secured the cooperation of the entire membership of the United Nations, the CTC now has a clear picture based on the self-assessment made by Governments in their reports of existing legislation and gaps that need to be filled. The practical consequences of that approach are translated into the revision and the creation, by a large number of States, of legislation that is in keeping with resolution 1373 (2001). There is a collective effort worldwide that has become more real, and particularly more tangible.

For a large number of countries, among them my own, it is not an easy task to comply fully with the provisions of resolution 1373 (2001). That is not due to a lack of commitment or failure of recognition of the

importance of the fight against terrorism. Rather, it is essentially due to the lack of both national and regional capacity to meet the requirements of the resolution. Many developing countries have enacted anti-terrorism legislation, but their scarce financial, technical and human resources impede full implementation of the legislative framework. Moreover, those countries lack the capacity for dealing adequately with border control and security, the movement of criminals, the smuggling of illicit drugs, illegal firearms, fissile materials and possible terrorist links.

We recognize the necessity that my country and the countries of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) approach international standards in order to meet the great challenges and risks that lie ahead. But to achieve that goal, we need sustained long-term assistance, focused on national and regional capacity-building in areas relevant to resolution 1373 (2001).

The recent special meeting held in Gabarone, Botswana, with SADC members, is a good example of such "joint effort", and we welcome it. Only with concerted effort and international assistance will we be able to meet the reporting requirements of the CTC and strengthen our capacities in the fight against terrorism.

I would like to recall here that the root causes of terrorism lie in injustice, poverty and social and political exclusion. Therefore, a concerted international effort and international assistance are needed to help many countries upgrade conditions and create legal institutions to fight terrorism. There is an urgent need for the international community to enhance dialogue and understanding among civilizations by addressing unresolved regional conflicts and the questions of poverty, social and economic development and the creation of political institutions that promote justice and the common good. In our view, that is the core issue, and if the international community is really determined to score decisive victories in the fight against terrorism, it must pursue a two-pronged strategy in dealing with terrorism and its root causes. In that sense, we praise the practical contribution of the CTC to strengthen anti-terrorist capabilities at national, regional and global levels.

We conclude by reiterating our thanks to Sir Jeremy for his valuable contribution to the work of the Committee and for the working methods he has been able to instil in this body. The CTC has become one of the most active Committees of the Security Council today. I would like to assure Ambassador Arias of our full cooperation in the future.

Mr. Tidjani (Cameroon) (*spoke in French*): First, I wish to associate myself with previous speakers in conveying to Ambassador Traoré our congratulations on the dedication, skill and tact with which he and his team conduced the Council's work during the difficult month of March.

Secondly, I wish to convey to you, Mr. President, my delegation's sincere congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. You can count on my delegation's full cooperation.

Finally, I wish to say how deeply grateful we are to you for having organized this open meeting on the activities of the Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC), one of its characteristics precisely being transparency.

Today's discussion allows us to take stock of what the CTC has done since its creation. What we observe now and our overview of the work done attests once again to our solidarity and desire to cooperate at the world level against this transnational plague. It also gives us the necessary means to together take a look at the future. No State and no society can deny that terrorism is one of the threats to world peace and security. Terrorism wants to impose itself and its logic on us. To accept this logic would mean abdicating our responsibilities and renouncing all of our basic human values. But it is our refusal to do so that is the very basis of the global coalition to combat terrorism. The clearest example of this refusal is resolution 1373 (2001) of 28 September 2001, in which the Security Council established the CTC and entrusted to it implementation of the resolution.

In the face of this menace, our common security will be best assured only if we fight together, in a well-considered, resolute manner. We are convinced that the United Nations is the appropriate legal and institutional framework for the development of the anti-terrorist campaign; the CTC is a clear reflection of this.

My delegation has repeatedly stressed that terrorists of all stripes are trying to take advantage of the technological and logistical disparities between our respective States and of gaps in international legislation. Efforts in this area are necessary and urgent, because the current legal machinery, although

pluridimensional, nonetheless remains sectoral and therefore incomplete.

The delegation of Cameroon would like to express its regret at the fact that that the Ad Hoc Committee of the General Assembly established by resolution 51/210 of 17 December 1996 was unable, at its seventh session, held here last week, to resolve pending matters concerning the elaboration of a draft comprehensive convention against terrorism and of a draft international convention on the suppression of nuclear terrorism.

The point can never be overemphasized that the pernicious and widespread threat posed by terrorism makes it incumbent upon us to strengthen our spirit of solidarity and to promote international cooperation, in order to ensure that information is disseminated more widely and to enable us to draw on the experience of various structures whose activities deal with counter-terrorism. That is what the CTC has been skilfully endeavouring to do since its establishment, with the assistance of a panel of experts that is particularly competent and professional.

Thanks to the work of the CTC, States have become increasingly aware of what terrorism means and of the need to strengthen their capacity to counter this scourge. This has also made it possible to establish a useful dialogue among international, regional and subregional organizations. In this respect, we welcome the results achieved by these organizations at the 6 March meeting held here at United Nations Headquarters.

Cameroon welcomes the broadly positive outcome of the work of the CTC. This outcome is due to the resolve, determination and creativity of an entire team, masterfully led by Sir Jeremy Greenstock. The President of the Security Council has just stressed, with particular eloquence, Sir Jeremy's leadership and great diplomatic skill, as well as his profound conviction as to the role of the United Nations in countering terrorism. My delegation would echo those sentiments, and we wish to pay him well-deserved tribute.

In the statement he made earlier, Sir Jeremy did not merely give us an overall assessment. True to his high standards, at each stage, and whenever necessary, he made extremely constructive comments and suggestions on ways to improve the work of the Committee established by resolution 1373 (2001).

In its 18 months of existence, the Committee has received an impressive number of reports — more than 343. As the Ambassador of France stressed, this is unheard of in the United Nations. This is proof of the outstanding cooperation between the Committee and the States Members of our world Organization. We urge those States that have not yet submitted their reports to do so as soon as possible, because, while we recognize the need for each State to work at its own pace in drafting its reports, it is important that all should abide by the set timetable.

As Ambassador Inocencio Arias of Spain prepares to take over from Sir Jeremy, I wish to assure him of the full cooperation of my delegation in his complex and highly politically sensitive task. We are already thinking about follow-up of the principal guidelines set out in resolution 1456 (2003), adopted by our foreign ministers last January; the recommendations that emerged from the special meeting of our Committee with international, regional and subregional organizations; and the necessary dialogue with other United Nations committees whose activities intersect with the work of the CTC.

With regard to the new programme for the next 90 days, when we move to the concrete phase of the Committee's work, we need the full support of everyone here. The plan's objectives are ambitious and its approach pragmatic. We commend the fact that the programme has taken on board one of our major concerns: the question of assistance. Cameroon has always maintained that greater emphasis and more resources should be devoted to assistance if we want to achieve our goals.

I wish to reiterate the appeal made here on 20 January 2003 by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Cameroon that the various donors and technical contributors increase significantly increase and in a simplified form their assistance to countries that need that it.

Under resolution 1373 (2001), adopted under Chapter VII, all States have obligations that they must meet. Cameroon, for its part, fully supports the measures taken by the United Nations to eliminate international terrorism, as contained in resolution 1373 (2001). The two reports submitted by my Government make clear our determination to discharge our obligations under that resolution.

For our struggle to lead to victory, it must encompass the fight against poverty, famine and injustice. It is clear also that the best long-term strategy to isolate and eliminate terrorism lies in the promotion of democracy and social justice through the right to development.

Terrorism, under whatever pretext, is unacceptable. Nothing can justify barbaric acts that inflict untold suffering on people; they are an assault on human dignity.

At the Millennium Summit, we committed ourselves to freeing peoples from fear of all kinds. Let us keep to that course.

Mr. Lavrov (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): Over the year and half of its work, the Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC) has played a leading role in the system that has been created under the auspices of the United Nations to counter new threats and challenges. Its lead role in building up a global anti-terrorist capacity and its authority in strengthening international cooperation in this area are well recognized and respected by all States.

We associate ourselves with the words of gratitude addressed to Ambassador Greenstock for the detailed information about the results achieved by that body, and we note the dynamism and the high quality of its work. I am pleased to associate myself with the words of praise for the personal contribution made by Ambassador Greenstock to that work. I do not think that anyone could doubt that its success, to a large extent, is due to the talent and the personal dynamism of Ambassador Greenstock. We are sure that the best characteristics of the CTC — its effectiveness, its non-confrontational approach and its transparency — will be maintained and built upon under Ambassador Arias' leadership.

I would also like to take this opportunity today once again to express gratitude to the whole CTC team, colleagues, Permanent Representatives of Security Council members, the United Nations Secretariat and, in particular, to the CTC experts.

We support the CTC's recently adopted programme of work for the upcoming 90-day period. The benchmarks contained therein will make it possible to maintain high output standards and to have a clear picture of the gaps that exist in anti-terrorist activity, to continue to seek to eliminate those gaps and to create a universal information network, as well as to concentrate on priorities for providing assistance to individual countries.

In the CTC's new work stage, which will be devoted not merely to assessing the legislative basis and infrastructure of counter-terrorism but also to monitoring effective implementation, a balanced and very well-considered approach will be particularly important.

Our common goal is to establish effective international, regional and national mechanisms that are compatible and that make it impossible for terrorists to evade punishment or to take advantage of the weakness of certain individual elements of the global anti-terrorist endeavour. This approach implies strict compliance with all of the requirements of Security Council resolution 1373 (2001). We support the urgent appeal to those States that have not yet submitted their initial reports to the CTC or are seriously late in submitting their second reports to establish immediate ongoing cooperation with the Committee.

The CTC has adopted a strategically correct decision in placing particular stress in its future work on cooperation with international, regional and subregional organizations. The special meeting of the CTC held on 6 March 2003 was highly commendable. The meeting gave a positive impetus to the Committee's interface with regional structures, among which, we note with pleasure, the Anti-Terrorist Centre of the Commonwealth of Independent States and the regional anti-terrorist structure of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. We think that these contacts should be regular.

The effective activities of the CTC embody the resolve of the Security Council to actively stand up to the threat to international peace and security that is emerging from terrorism. The Russian Federation, which is one of the Vice-Chairmen of the CTC, will continue actively to cooperate with all United Nations Member States to achieve real success in our anti-terrorism campaign.

Mr. Mekdad (Syrian Arab Republic) (*spoke in Arabic*): We wish to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your assumption to the presidency of the Security Council for the current month, and we wish you success. We pledge our full cooperation, and we thank you for convening this meeting. We express our

appreciation for the efforts made by your predecessor, the Ambassador of Guinea, for his successful stewardship of the Council last month.

Today we are meeting, one and a half years after the establishment of the Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC). In the course of that period, the CTC worked intensely and achieved substantive success in alerting United Nations Member States and in enhancing their capacity to bring their national legislations into line with the provisions and requirements of resolution 1373 (2001) and to combat international terrorism. Evidence of this success is demonstrated in the interaction between Member States and the CTC, and in the number of reports the CTC has received, now in excess of 340, for the first and second stages, in addition to a good number of reports submitted for the third stage.

The CTC has been able to create an open and transparent dialogue with States and has managed to provide assistance to those States who have sought such assistance in order to enhance their capacity in combating terrorism. My delegation would like to take this opportunity to express its deep appreciation to the Committee's Chairman, Ambassador Jeremy Greenstock, his Vice-Chairmen, other members of the CTC and the experts, who exerted immense efforts to examine and discuss States' reports. We would also like to thank the Secretariat for its effective contribution to the success of the CTC's work.

Today we would like to pay special tribute to the contributions of Ambassador Greenstock, who chaired the CTC over the past 18 months. He showed great diplomatic skill, ability and robust work. Sir Jeremy paid attention to the most minute details, culminating with the current status of the Committee. Credit is due to him for acquainting the international community with the machinery and work of the Committee and for creating interactive cooperation between the CTC and international, regional and subregional organizations, as demonstrated at the successful Special Meeting convened by the CTC last month.

As we bid a fond farewell to Ambassador Greenstock in his term as Chairman of the CTC, having successfully fulfilled his mandate, we welcome Ambassador Inocencio Arias, the Permanent Representative of Spain, as he assumes his new function as CTC Chairman. We trust that he will fulfil this mandate successfully. My delegation pledges its full cooperation with him, as we had done with Ambassador Greenstock. Also, we welcome the composition of the new membership of the Bureau, and we support the next suggested 90-day plan of work, which runs from 1 April 2003 to 30 June 2003. The Syrian delegation reaffirms its intention to spare no effort in order to carry out the plan of action so as to meet the aspirations of all United Nations members. Here we would like to place on record that the active role of the Syrian Arab Republic within the work of the CTC during the past period will continue in the forthcoming period. As all are aware, Syria has been fully cooperative with the CTC in submitting the required reports.

Building a solid legislative foundation for combating terrorism is essential, especially at the international, regional, subregional and national levels. For progress to be achieved, international terrorism needs to be confronted and combated within the framework of international legality, the United Nations Charter and international law, while maintaining full respect for human rights, the civil and political rights of the individual, and without compromising these rights under the pretext of combating terrorism.

In closing, we must reaffirm, in no uncertain terms and without any ambiguity, that we should not undermine those who are defending their occupied territories and desist from labelling them as terrorists. Resisting foreign occupation is a legitimate act, guaranteed under international norms and treaties. This act of resistance is quite different from despicable acts of terrorism, which we categorically condemn and view as absolutely criminal. We must once again emphasize that we should be cautious and refrain from making accusations against specific faiths or nationalities. Terrorism is not exclusive to any religion or nationality; it makes no distinction between East and West and is a global threat that must be combated everywhere it occurs.

The Syrian Arab Republic calls for further effective international cooperation within the United Nations and in keeping with the principles and purposes of the Charter and established norms of international law and treaties. Such cooperation is needed to stem the tide of international terrorism, which is plaguing the world, in all its forms and manifestations.

Mr. Tafrov (Bulgaria) (*spoke in French*): Allow me, Sir, to say how delighted I am to see you presiding over the work of the Council for April. I have no doubt that you will discharge your difficult tasks with your customary brilliance. I would also like to take this opportunity to sincerely thank Ambassador Mamady Traoré, and the Guinean delegation, for the wisdom with which he conducted the work of the Council last month. As previous speakers have said, it was one of the most difficult months in the recent history of the Security Council.

As an associate country of the European Union, Bulgaria aligns itself with the statement that will be made shortly by the Permanent Representative of Greece, on behalf of the European Union.

Eighteen months since the Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC) was established under resolution 1373 (2001), Bulgaria welcomes the fact that the Committee has become central to the universal campaign against this devastating scourge. This is a real success story. The beginnings have been very encouraging, and this needs to be stressed.

I cannot overemphasize the personal role played throughout these 18 months by the Chairman of the Committee, Sir Jeremy Greenstock, to whom Bulgaria pays sincere tribute. Sir Jeremy and his team have lived up to the extraordinary reputation of the United Kingdom's diplomacy. They have worked with unequalled professionalism and personal devotion. Sir Jeremy has demonstrated that the old profession of a diplomat is conducive to the commonweal and the best interests of the international community. I have no doubt that in the future the CTC will find the ways and means to draw on the experience of Member States and the clear thinking of Sir Jeremy.

At the same time, I wish to welcome the assumption of the Chairmanship of the Counter-Terrorism Committee by Ambassador Inocencio Arias of Spain. He has all the necessary qualities to demonstrate real leadership on the Committee. I would like to take this opportunity to assure him of the full support of my delegation.

The programme of work submitted by the CTC for the coming 90 days, we think, makes it possible to reaffirm what has been achieved, in particular with regard to the creation of a global network to combat terrorism. We are pleased to see that the Committee is giving priority to the declaration that was adopted following the 20 January 2003 meeting of the Committee. That declaration highlights strengthened contacts with international, regional and subregional organizations. There is no doubt that these organizations have an enormous capacity to help Member States to implement resolution 1373 (2001).

Bulgaria's experience, from its perspective at the subregional level, has proved this point. We are very satisfied with the results of the conference of South-East European countries held in June 2002 in Sofia. Bulgaria continues to build on this initial success.

The flow of information at all levels — national, regional, subregional and international — and the control of these flows are a sine qua non for the success of counter-terrorism efforts. On 6 March 2003, during the extremely useful exchange of views between these organizations and the CTC, this problem was highlighted. It is very important that we use modern technology in countering terrorism. The Internet can be a powerful driving force behind the exchange of information. The very interesting web site of the Committee, with its increasing wealth of information, is a very good example of that.

Bulgaria stresses the need to prevent access by terrorists to weapons of mass destruction. We welcome the intention of the Committee to contact the representatives of the relevant international organizations and specialized agencies and to coordinate these activities with the Committee. It is very important to strengthen the non-proliferation regime of weapons of mass destruction, both at the international and regional level.

Bulgaria has emphasized many times the importance it attaches to the 12 international anti-terrorist conventions. As the Council is aware, Bulgaria is party to all 12 conventions and it reiterates its appeal to all States that have not yet done so to become parties to these instruments as soon as possible.

As to the legal context of counter-terrorism, we once again regret that the Ad Hoc Committee of the General Assembly, which was to have drawn up a universal convention to combat terrorism, does not seem to have advanced in its work at the pace that we would have wished to see.

My delegation would like to warmly thank the experts of the CTC for their outstanding work.

We wish to draw the attention of the members and experts of the Counter-Terrorism Committee to the fact that there are already States that are entering a new stage — stage B — of implementation of resolution 1373 (2001). I believe we can be confident that the Committee's experts will be able to deal with these developments and in due course will be able to assess the progress made by States that are entering stage B. But for the time being, what remains important is undoubtedly the assistance that must be provided to States that are still trying to fulfil the minimum required by resolution 1373 (2001). States that are in a position to lend assistance should do so without delay. Obviously, a significant number of States are experiencing major technical and material difficulties.

In conclusion, I cannot fail to mention the fact that, on 22 February, a law against the financing of terrorism entered into force in Bulgaria. Experts from several Bulgarian ministries and governmental agencies are actively preparing Bulgaria's third report to the Committee, in which we shall detail information about measures my country is taking to fight terrorism.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of Mexico.

This meeting of the Security Council is especially significant. It provides a twofold opportunity: first, to renew the international community's political and legal commitment to the fight against terrorism, and secondly, to thank and to pay a well-deserved tribute to Ambassador Greenstock and his team, headed by Anna Clunes. In that context, we also wish to welcome to the chairmanship Ambassador Inocencio Arias of Spain and his team and to wish them every success. The Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC) remains in good hands. I take this opportunity also to thank the experts of the Committee and the Secretariat team, in particular Ms. Sujata Mehta.

My delegation associates itself the statement that will be made later by the representative of Peru on behalf of the Rio Group.

The Counter-Terrorism Committee is an instrument created pursuant to an exceptional resolution of the Security Council — a resolution that represents a step forward in the building of international law. Indeed, the fight against terrorism must be implacable and merciless; that is the resolve expressed in the mandate that the Security Council entrusted to the Committee. The fight against terrorism is ultimately in the hands of States, and it is up to the Committee to provide guidelines and support so that they can effectively carry out their international obligations in that regard.

Terrorism is an act of barbarism. Therefore, fighting terrorism must be an act of civilization, carried out with scrupulous respect for human rights. We are fighting terrorism not only in order to live in safety, but also — and above all — in order to preserve and broaden our freedoms, to affirm the dignity of human life and to ensure the rule of law. Terrorism is essentially an enemy of freedom; thus the fight against this phenomenon must not be a pretext for cancelling rights and freedoms. In the fight against terrorism, international law must be our best weapon: that is Mexico's conviction.

The legitimacy of all our efforts would be significantly diminished if we were to depart from the fundamental principles and purposes that govern the Organization. For that reason, my delegation — in the context of the General Assembly and recently in the Commission on Human Rights — has promoted draft resolutions that emphasize the need to protect human rights in the fight against terrorism. In addition, we enthusiastically welcome the recent exchange between Ambassador Curtis Ward and the Human Rights Committee in Geneva, and we hope that cooperation in that sphere between that Committee and the CTC will intensify. My delegation believes that we must bear in mind the growing importance of this issue in the light of the report submitted by the Secretary-General in the context of the fifty-ninth session of the Commission on Human Rights, in conformity with General Assembly resolution 57/219.

With respect to the progress made in the consideration of reports submitted to the Committee, my delegation believes that it has been possible to set priorities according to each State's capacity to implement resolution 1373 (2001). In the subsequent stages, which will begin under Spain's leadership, the Committee's work must go beyond mere recognition of the existence of national legislation in that regard and must be aimed at considering the establishment and development of the necessary administrative machinery to effectively implement the resolution's provisions.

Capacity-building through the Committee's assistance programme is one of the key elements that

will enable us to move all States forward together towards our common objective. The CTC should explore all possible avenues so as to maximize its capacity to respond to requests for assistance on the part of Member States.

All of the foregoing clearly reveals the Committee's cooperative nature. The force of its mandate pursuant to resolution 1373 (2001) lies in cooperation among States. In that connection, the certainty of a clear mandate that is free of ambiguous interpretations has been the factor that has enabled us, under Sir Jeremy Greenstock's direction, to promote the consensus, cooperation, authority and legitimacy of the Committee itself.

We welcome the forthcoming meetings of the Committee with representatives of the International Atomic Energy Agency, the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons, the World Customs Organization and INTERPOL to consider the issue of weapons of mass destruction and terrorism. Such meetings should serve as a preparatory step, before the Committee devotes greater time and effort to that vital aspect of resolution 1373 (2001).

In this same context, the Committee should, in the near future, begin preparations to address the links between terrorism and transnational organized crime, pursuant to paragraph 4 of resolution 1373 (2001).

Furthermore, the Committee has adopted the right course in promoting the idea that, on a voluntary basis, States might include reports presented to other organizations as part of the information they submit to the Committee itself. That would help to avoid the duplication of efforts and lighten the burden on States in terms of reporting requirements. Clearly the confidentiality required by States must be preserved.

The special meeting of the CTC on 6 March with international, regional and subregional organizations represented a successful step forward. That meeting reaffirmed the will and the need to act in an effective and coordinated fashion. It is now incumbent on each organization, within the context of its mandate, to establish institutional mechanisms — if such mechanisms do not already exist — and to develop political and legal measures to back up all of those efforts. That is the difficult task that lies ahead.

The decision of the Organization of American States shortly to convene a meeting to follow up the 6 March meeting is a clear indication of the commitment of the hemisphere in this regard.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank the Secretary-General for his report (S/2003/191), submitted pursuant to the provisions of resolution 1456 (2003). My Government has taken due note of its contents, and in this context we would like to highlight a few points to which my delegation has already referred.

Combating terrorism requires a far-reaching response that goes to the root cause of such acts and addresses the underlying social, economic and human situation. Nothing can justify terrorism, but there are explanations for it. The best weapons to use against terrorism are sustainable development and those that tackle in a comprehensive manner the humanitarian problems generated by conflict in various parts of the world. In this endeavour, we should not overlook the fact that the promotion of human rights, tolerance and education are vital elements that must be taken into account in tackling terrorism. This is the new culture of understanding and the rule of law that the fight against terrorism demands. The United Nations certainly has a key role to play in realizing that vision.

Only if we are united in our objectives and purposes and act in accordance with the law will we be able, in the long term, to secure our goal of effectively preventing terrorist acts.

I would like to conclude by paying tribute to Ambassador Greenstock and by welcoming Ambassador Arias.

I now resume my functions as President of the Security Council.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Belarus. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Ivanou (Belarus) (*spoke in Russian*): The delegation of Belarus would like to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. We are confident that, under your professional and wise guidance, the Council's work during the month of April will be fruitful and constructive.

I would also like to thank the Security Council for providing us with the opportunity to participate in the discussion of the report of the Counter-Terrorism

Committee (CTC). Belarus attaches great importance to the Committee's work in combating international terrorism on the basis of resolution 1373 (2001). I would like to thank Sir Jeremy Greenstock, who is completing his term of office as Chairman of the CTC, for his valuable contribution to the organization of the work of the Committee — a fairly new Council body, established following the tragic events of 11 September 2001 — and for facilitating its purposeful and significant work.

Belarus welcomes the open manner in which Chairman of the CTC has guided its work, through dialogue with States Members of the United Nations and other participants in international counter-terrorism activity, with a view to ensuring the effective implementation of resolution 1373 (2001). We hope that that approach to the organization of the work of the CTC, as well as the provision of information about the results of its work, will continue under the new presidency of Ambassador Inocencio Arias.

Belarus reaffirms its readiness to further strengthen its interaction with the CTC with a view to fulfilling the requirements of resolution 1373 (2001) and to developing international cooperation in combating terrorism on the basis of international law, the United Nations Charter and international treaties.

Our Government commends the results attained, with the help of the CTC, in completing first stage of the implementation of resolution 1373 (2001): collecting information about legislative measures and other steps taken by States in implementation of the resolution, identifying possible gaps in the anti-terrorist infrastructure of States and determining when to provide consultative and technical assistance.

Belarus submitted to the CTC, within the appropriate time frame, three reports regarding its implementation of resolution 1373 (2001). The work we have done in preparing our national reports has had a positive impact on the Belarus legal system, promoting the adoption of important standard-setting legislation, including a counter-terrorism law, and has led to our accession to a number of international treaties dealing with counter-terrorism.

With regard to the future work of the CTC, we hope that, beyond legislative measures, priority attention will be given to activities to strengthen the law enforcement structures of States involved in international counter-terrorism and to tightening customs, immigration and border controls. We await concrete, practical steps in the Committee's next 90-day programme of work with regard to the second stage of the implementation of resolution 1373 (2001), which includes forward-looking items on the CTC agenda.

For Belarus and other countries with economies in transition, effective customs, immigration and border controls are of particular interest. Belarus has not to date been subject to terrorist acts — a fact that attests to the stable political situation in our country, the productive work done by our law enforcement bodies and the effective preventive action that we have taken.

At the same time, Belarus regularly confronts the need to eradicate the illicit transit of drugs, the illegal movement and transportation of weapons and other transborder crimes connected with terrorism. These problems are under ongoing scrutiny by our leadership. In particular, the timely identification and suppression of terrorist threats were among the main purposes of the 2003 decision to protect the State frontier of Belarus by our border forces, which was confirmed by the President of Belarus on 31 March.

An important event in the sixth 90-day period of the CTC was the special meeting held on 6 March between the Committee and international, regional and subregional organizations. The results of the meeting convinced us that countering international terrorism has become one of the key areas of the activities of many international organizations that should be recogaized as active participants in the global anti-terrorist coalition.

The provision at that meeting of information on international standards in the implementation of resolution 1373 (2001) and databases on the needs of States for technical assistance in countering international terrorism was very useful and provided good guidance for States in identifying practical measures for the implementation of resolution 1373 (2001) and sources of necessary assistance. We call on the CTC to continue the practice of organizing events with the participation of international, regional and subregional organizations, if possible with a broader time frame and with the participation of representatives of States in the discussions.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of

Israel. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Gillerman (Israel): Allow me at the outset to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of April and to express our appreciation for the impressive stewardship of the Council by your predecessor.

Israel and I personally would like to pay tribute to the outgoing Chairman of the Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC), Sir Jeremy Greenstock of Great Britain, for his skilful and inspiring leadership. In the difficult months after the horrific attacks of 11 September 2001, the Counter-Terrorism Committee, under the leadership of Ambassador Greenstock, embarked on an important initiative to assist and monitor State implementation of Security Council resolution 1373 (2001). His country's leadership should be duly applauded for the vanguard role it has assumed in the global campaign against terrorism.

We wish Ambassador Greenstock's successor, the Ambassador of Spain, Inocencio Arias, every success in this crucial global effort and assure him of Israel's full cooperation.

To many countries around this table, terrorism is fortunately still a virtual or theoretical matter, but Israel speaks from bitter personal experience. We are the victims of a very real and bloody daily ritual; the victims of the most brutal, evil, cynical terror directed at our children and at our very future. At my last talk before the Security Council on 20 February, I spoke of this future. I expressed the hope that my grandson's nursery school would no longer require the protection of armed guards against vicious and deliberate attacks. I expressed the hope that terrorism would cease.

Unfortunately, the terrorism in Israel has continued. It is with a heavy and mournful heart that I recount these recent immoralities. Just last Sunday, a depraved suicide attack was perpetrated in the peaceful coastal city of Netanya against innocent civilians. Ramadan Shallah, Secretary-General of the terrorist organization Islamic Jihad, which operates freely from Damascus, Syria, aided by a member of this Council, proudly claimed responsibility for the attack. In a statement issued from his Damascus office, Shallah vowed to carry out more attacks.

On 5 March, in an attack described by United Nations Special Coordinator Terje Roed-Larsen just recently as an act of mass murder and an outrageous waste of life, a suicide bomb ripped apart a public bus in the northern Israeli city of Haifa. The bus was filled with young children and students en route to Haifa University. Seventeen were killed and 53 wounded, many of them civilians, by the powerful bomb, laden with metal shrapnel in order to maximize the extent of human injuries. In addition to these and other atrocious attacks, innumerable incidents of terror are thwarted on a daily basis by Israeli counter-terrorism efforts.

Terrorism kills indiscriminately. Terrorism knows no border, nationality, race, age or religion. Terrorism poses a threat to all free peoples, and therefore there must be no distinction between good and bad terrorism, between the military and social wings of terrorist organizations. It is immoral to abuse the noble lexicon of freedom to justify the mass murder of innocents and to excuse these abhorrent acts for the advancement of a political agenda. Repeated resolutions and declarations of the Security Council, the General Assembly and the Secretary-General uphold the principle that any deliberate targeting of civilians for political ends is wrong, unjustifiable and immoral, regardless of cause or circumstance.

As the world was horrifically reminded on 11 September, if the fires of terrorism rage anywhere, they pose a threat to peace and security everywhere. Terrorism is epidemic, and any attempt to douse one flame, one flare-up of this pervasive threat, while expressing sympathy or understanding for another will only undermine our efforts. Rather, we must strike at its core: at regimes that nourish the germ of terror through their support, inaction and complicity; at regimes with the ability to transfer biological, chemical and nuclear weapons to terrorists who have no compunctions regarding their use; and at regimes like those in Iran and Syria, a member of this body, that actively support terrorism to further their agenda, poking a finger into the eye of the CTC while raising another in support of its efforts.

I encourage the CTC to exhibit the courage to name and shame those States that continue to support terrorism and compel every State to undertake a sincere and irrevocable commitment to eradicating terrorism from its own soil. I am encouraged that the call to name and shame has today been reinforced. I hope it will become the mantra of the CTC.

In accordance with resolution 1373 (2001), the members of the international community must take active and aggressive measures to destroy the financial and organizational infrastructure of terrorism and to address the venomous incitement that is pervasive in the media and in the educational, religious and political institutions of certain States.

The germ of terror is nourished by the inculcation of fundamentalist, intolerant and rejectionist ideologies. The glorification of murder as martyrdom is a gravely flawed moral sanction for acts of mass murder. No child, no baby, is born into this world wanting to be a suicide bomber. In our region, we are faced with countless crude and unmistakable examples of how incitement kills. Children's textbooks should not serve as manuals for hate.

Government-sanctioned incitement that nourishes and sustains the terrorist agenda violates the most basic human rights obligations of States. Our efforts to combat terrorism and to implement resolution 1373 (2001) must focus not only on the practical support provided to its perpetrators, but on the intolerant ideology that nurtures the phenomenon itself.

Another emerging threat is posed by shoulder-launched surface-to-air missiles capable of destroying civilian aircraft at low altitudes. This threat was made clear just a few months ago in Mombasa, Kenya, when terrorists narrowly missed bringing down an Israeli civilian airplane. This potentially catastrophic attack, along with recent warnings of similar planned attacks in other cities, underscores the necessity for States to take urgent action to curb the proliferation of these weapons and the access of terrorist groups to them. We welcome the adoption of resolution 1450 (2002) condemning the attacks in Kenya and we urge the CTC to work towards the adoption of a universal standard to defend against these weapons.

Man-portable air defence systems (MANPADS) present the international counter-terrorism community with one of its deepest crises ever, requiring worldwide cooperation and coordination. The danger posed by MANPADS is particularly great because of their unique qualities: not only are they small, cheap and easy to operate, but they enjoy freedom of location, time, target and scale of operation. Terrorists know no limits, and none of us are immune to their threat.

Professionals in the aviation security field are already working to combat the MANPADS threat and deserve the full backing of States. We believe that this support should include investing in defensive onboard technological systems, as well as tightening security control over airport perimeters. Israel believes it is critical that efforts to strengthen aviation security be complemented by stronger controls over MANPADS themselves. To ensure the success of efforts to prevent terrorist access to MANPADS, selling States should bear the responsibility of verifying end-user identity. In addition, purchasing States must shoulder primary responsibility for those systems' security, storage, transfer, maintenance and monitoring. Furthermore, we would encourage the establishment of an international assistance programme to help countries combat the danger of MANPADS falling into terrorist hands.

As a nation that has endured a terrible human loss to the perils of terrorism since its establishment, we support the noble efforts of the CTC and believe that intensive international cooperation is a critical weapon in the counter-terrorist arsenal. Israel stands ready and willing to continue to share its knowledge and expertise, learned from bitter experience, and to collaborate in joint efforts aimed at coordinating and strengthening our collective response.

In doing so, we hope that the CTC will continue to take an increasingly proactive role in implementing a policy of zero tolerance for terrorism. In the wake of this global threat, we cannot confuse paperwork with progress. Clearly, enhancing the legislative and administrative tools available to States for fighting terrorism, and capacity-building in general, are crucial to our efforts. But the real test will always be the implementation of commitments on the ground. The filing of lengthy State reports cannot be allowed to serve as a cover for those States determined to persist in supporting and glorifying terrorism. Part of the CTC's mandate under resolution 1373 (2001) should be to test Member States' compliance not just on paper but in practice.

Despite the daily threat of terrorism that plagues our region and the existence of regimes that adopt terrorism as a means to advance their political agenda, we remain resolved to overcome the devastating impact of suicide bomb attacks, which endanger both the Israeli and Palestinian peoples.

Even in these dark times, we continue to believe that the day will come when we and our children will enjoy the fruits of peace. That dream leaves me

hopeful. I hope that the upcoming changes in the Palestinian leadership will finally provide us with a real partner for a secure peace. Israel hopes that those changes will lead to concerted action to dismantle terrorist infrastructure, delegitimize terrorist groups and eliminate incitement.

By fighting terrorism wherever it breeds, by a determined commitment to peace and to the end of violence and hateful incitement, we can look forward to peace and a better future for us all.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): There are speakers inscribed on my list that have not yet had the opportunity to speak. In view of the lateness of the hour, and with the consent of the members of the Council, I shall now suspend the meeting. The Council will continue its consideration of the item on its agenda this afternoon at 3.30 p.m.

The meeting was suspended at 1.30 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.4734 (Resumption 1)

Security Council

Fifty-eighth year

Provisional

4734th meeting

Friday, 4 April 2003, 3.30 p.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Aguilar Zinser	(Mexico)
Members:	Angola	Mr. Gaspar Martins
	Bulgaria	Mr. Tafrov
	Cameroon	Mr. Tidjani
	Chile	Mr. Valdés
	China	Mr. Wang Yingfan
	France	Mr. De La Sablière
	Germany	Mr. Pleuger
	Guinea	Mr. Traoré
	Pakistan	Mr. Akram
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Spain	Mr. Arias
	Syrian Arab Republic	Mr. Mekdad
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Steven
	United States of America	Mr. Williamson

Agenda

Threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist acts

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.

03-31066 (E)

The meeting was resumed at 3.35 p.m.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Afghanistan, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Farhādi (Afghanistan) took the seat reserved for him at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): The next speaker on my list is the representative of India. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Nambiar (India): Please allow me, Mr. President, to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. We have no doubt that your presidency would allow a careful and responsible consideration of the important issues on the agenda of the Council. I would also like to take this opportunity to congratulate Ambassador Mamady Traoré of Guinea for his adroit stewardship of the Council during a crucial period in the Council's history.

Let me start by congratulating you on your decision to include an open debate on the critical subject of threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist acts on the Council's work schedule. My country, like most others, continues to believe that the main threats to international peace and security today emanate from the uncontrolled ravages of terrorism. It is sufficient to refer to the Council's presidential statements issued in recent months in response to terrorist incidents in Bali, Moscow, Mombassa and Bogotá to be able to reinforce this point.

The instruments crafted by the Security Council in the form of the Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC) and the Taliban/Al Qaeda committee are critical in so far as they represent some of the most serious multilaterally defined and accepted efforts to collectively tackle a growing menace that respects no national boundaries, region or religion.

I wish to take the opportunity here to join other delegations in congratulating Ambassador Sir Jeremy Greenstock for his wholly dedicated and selfless involvement in the task of taking the Counter-Terrorism Committee from a fledgling idea to a recognized landmark in the international fight against terrorism. The Security Council, the United Nations and the membership it represents owe a great deal to the structures and solid institutional foundations that Sir Jeremy has laid down in the form of the CTC. We are confident that Ambassador Arias, with his proven competence, will take the Committee to ever greater heights of achievement and effectiveness that the second and subsequent stages of the CTC's functioning call for.

My delegation has consistently and unequivocally supported a strong international stance against terrorism. My country believes that terrorism is a common foe to all peoples, beliefs and religions, as also of democracy, pluralistic societies and peace. But this view is not confined to India alone. The countries that participated in the Second Ministerial Conference of the Community of Democracies, held in Seoul in November 2002, agreed that "terrorism constitutes a threat to international peace and security as well as to humanity in general and indeed the very foundation on which democratic societies are built". They also underscored that "terrorism cannot be justified by any cause or under any circumstances ...". Similar language underpins Security Council resolution 1456 (2003) adopted earlier this year.

India's experience of being at the receiving end of externally-sponsored terrorism has demonstrated to us the unalloyed terrorists' goal of disrupting normal peaceful functioning of societies as a cynical tactic for the achievement of their political objectives. They, therefore, choose to launch their attacks upon places of worship, parliamentary institutions and public transportation, and to target voters and candidates engaged in democratic electoral processes, as well as isolated and vulnerable minority communities, women and children. In the past two decades, India has lost 60,000 of its citizens to cross-border terrorism in the Punjab, in Jammu and Kashmir and in other parts of the country.

Only a few days ago, 24 members of a village in the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir — 11 men, 11 women and 2 infants — were ordered out of their homes and massacred by terrorists in full view of the entire village. Their sole qualification for being targeted for this extraordinary fate was that they were Kashmiri pandits professing the ancient faith of their land. The objective of the exercise was a selective "cleansing" through mass murder, which has been the objective of these terrorist groups and their sponsors all along: to attack the basis of a secular state, to attack the fabric of a society that has lived peacefully together for centuries in intercommunal harmony.

Laced with the potent stimulant of fundamentalism and religious extremism, this is the hallmark of the terror being unleashed on India. What other rationale can explain the attempt to replace the prevalent peaceful Sufi religious beliefs traditionally practised in many parts of Jammu and Kashmir with the fanatical and uncompromising dictates of a purported orthodoxy that requires an enforced adherence to repressive social restrictions, and vile impositions against women and society?

This incident has been noticed and, indeed, condemned around the world. What has gone unnoticed, however, is the tremendous restraint and composure displayed by the Government of India, and, indeed, by the various communities in India, in not being provoked into reacting disproportionately to this event, as can happen all to often in situations like this one, which inflame religious and communal passions around the country. By behaving maturely, our common people have responded wisely to this latest terrorist outrage. I would like to assure you, Mr. President, that, much as we condemn the evil of terrorism, we are conscious, in this context, as much of Nietzsche as indeed of the Buddha and of Mahatma Gandhi. We are confident that our democracy offers systemic safeguards that will prevent us from becoming mirror images of the "monster" we oppose.

Unfortunately, despite assurances provided at the highest levels, the one country that has today emerged as the epicentre of terrorism and is responsible for this situation remains unprepared to live up to its public pronouncements and commitments made to the international community and to the Counter-Terrorism Committee.

My Government has consistently pointed out that the purpose of establishing credible multilateral instruments to counter terrorism is not only to equip States to fight terrorism effectively, but also to identify those States that contravene the provisions of Security Council resolutions in their sponsorship, support and encouragement of terrorism.

India finds it difficult to accept a situation in which a country professes to be part of the global coalition against terrorism on the one hand, while continuing to aid, abet and sponsor terrorism on the other. The global fight against terrorism, spurred on in large part by the horrors of the attacks of 11 September, no longer leaves any space for ambiguity in a State's record on terrorism. The time for double standards is over.

India has held the view that the Counter-Terrorism Committee needs to move beyond the stage of reporting on to the stage of identifying violations of, if not enforcing, resolutions 1373 (2001), 1456 (2003) and other relevant Security Council resolutions. Subparagraphs 2(b), (d) and (e) and 3(a) of resolution 1373 (2001) make specific references to cross-border or transnational terrorism. These provisions of resolution 1373 (2001) oblige Member States to take action to prevent the facilitation of terrorism against other States. We have noted that facile and often mendacious assertions of the fulfilment of obligations under resolution 1373 (2001) form an integral part of the report of at least one respondent that has done nothing to fulfil its commitments, both stated and statutory. This has not gone unnoticed by the international community.

India attaches the highest priority to the functioning of the Counter-Terrorism Committee. It is in this spirit that we wish to make a few comments and to pose a few questions, the responses to which, we hope, will contribute towards the Committee's functioning. Our questions are the following.

First, while there is universal appreciation of the work of the CTC in seeking to have the proper legislative framework in place to implement resolution 1373 (2001), has the CTC considered the question of how to deal with a situation in which a Member State is not enforcing effective compliance by concrete actions, even while professing to do so in its responses to the Committee?

Secondly, while proceeding to Stage B of its implementation of 1373 (2001), how would the CTC ensure that it would receive relevant information and assistance from Member States, while at the same time avoiding an intrusiveness that could impinge on the secrecy of information and procedures followed in counter-terrorism measures by the States concerned?

Thirdly, while following international standards, such as those of the Financial Action Task Force on Money Laundering (FATF), can the CTC take into account the need for internationally negotiated and agreed arrangements acceptable to all Member States?

Fourth, while the CTC's meeting with international and regional organizations was a successful venture in terms of securing the participation of the invitees involved, could the CTC, in future, consider a more representative regional balance? At the same time, must the Committee not also note that not all regional organizations have the mandate of the countries they represent to engage in any discussions on the subject of terrorism?

Fifth, while it is understood that the CTC does not need to move at the speed of the slowest Member, it needs to consider whether it is desirable to move at the speed of the fastest. Should not the Committee be seeking to avoid a situation in which the overwhelming majority of States having fulfilled their obligations under Stage A belong predominantly to the developed regions of the world, while those striving to comply with the requirements are those that represent the developing world?

Sixth, while the CTC's matrix of assistance provides a useful assessment of assistance on offer, perhaps the Committee should be examining whether the bilateral assistance offered by one or two countries is truly representative of the entire gamut of assistance in this area offered at a bilateral level?

India has made considerable efforts to work with the international community in its fight against terrorism. India is a party to all 12 international conventions on terrorism. The Government of India has decided very recently to ratify the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism. India's proposal for the early conclusion of a comprehensive convention against international terrorism has been under active consideration of the Sixth Committee of the General Assembly. The recent Summit of the Non-Aligned Movement and the Commonwealth Law Ministers' Meeting reiterated the need for the early conclusion of the Convention and called upon all States to cooperate in resolving the outstanding issues. We are confident that the mutual interest of Member States will enable the Convention to be approved as a useful and effective multilateral instrument in the near future.

Let me once again reiterate our warmest appreciation for the work of Sir Jeremy in the Counter-Terrorism Committee. We wish him every success and have no doubt that he will apply his boundless energy, valuable experience and the rare qualities of an outstanding diplomat to whichever pursuit he chooses to engage in after July this year. We wish also warmly to welcome Ambassador Arias to the chairmanship of this prestigious and critical Committee and wish him the very best in his endeavour. I assure him that my delegation will be prepared to offer him whatever assistance he may require of us in the effective fulfilment of his high function.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): The next speaker is the representative of Peru. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. De Rivero (Peru) (*spoke in Spanish*): Mr. President, allow me to congratulate you and say how pleased we are to see the Security Council being presided over by a person of your skills and talents. I would also like to take this opportunity to pay tribute to the work accomplished by Guinea, as President of the Council, during difficult and frustrating times for the international community.

In my capacity as Coordinator of the Rio Group, I am making this statement on behalf of Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Guyana, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela, all member States of the principal mechanism of political understanding in Latin America.

On 20 February, we took the floor in this Council to reiterate our strongest rejection of terrorism, no matter who commits it, whatever the motives. This firm conviction is at the heart of the decisive support of the Rio Group for the actions that have been undertaken by the Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC), established by resolution 1373 (2001). All members of the Group have completed the submission of their first and second

reports to the CTC, and Group members have either sent or are drawing up their third explanatory reports, as requested by the Committee. We welcome the States that have done likewise, and we hope that, in the near future, all States will have complied with their obligations and presented their respective national reports.

The immense work to harmonize and implement measures against terrorism in such a short period of time, and the implementation of concrete mechanisms of international cooperation against this scourge, could not have achieved a breakthrough without the firm commitment and efforts of United Nations Member States. We hope that this commitment will be maintained and strengthened.

In our statement in February, our Group said it was appropriate, as pointed out in resolutions 1377 (2001), 1456 (2003) and other relevant resolutions, to state that the fight against terrorism can also be supported by the firm cooperation of regional and subregional organizations and relevant agencies of the United Nations system. For this reason, the Rio Group welcomes the meeting held between the CTC and international, regional and subregional organizations on 6 March 2003. We believe that this event contributed to the improvement of the flow of information on experiences, standards and practices, as well as for the coordination of current activities.

Among other organizations that participated in the March event was the Inter-American Committee Against Terrorism (CICTE). This Committee was created in 1999 as a result of the inter-American conferences on terrorism that took place in Lima in 1996 and in Mar del Plata, Argentina, in 1998. The Minister of Foreign Affairs of El Salvador, in her capacity as President of the CICTE, pointed to a number of actions taken at the inter-American level in the fight against terrorism. Notable among these were the recent adoption of the Inter-American Convention Against Terrorism and the Declaration of San Salvador on strengthening cooperation in the fight against terrorism, approved in June 2002 and January 2003, respectively. Furthermore, the CICTE plays a role in disseminating international standards and carries out activities of cooperation to prevent, combat and eliminate terrorist acts and activities. Here it is important to highlight the proposal made by the Organization of American States (OAS) for a follow-up meeting to the 6 March session, to be held at OAS headquarters.

This regional counter-terrorism dimension, already pointed out in the March meeting, is also valid when it comes to adopting a comprehensive approach to terrorism. As we pointed out at the Security Council's meeting this past February, terrorism does not limit itself to criminal activities of one particular organization or region. The Security Council, which has reaffirmed that terrorist acts are unjustifiable, whatever the motivation or whoever the perpetrators may be, must take this fact into consideration in its efforts to identify and punish those responsible for terrorist acts and to prevent the commission of such acts.

The Rio Group welcomes the presentation of the seventh 90-day work programme of the CTC. The programme contains a set of innovative activities that are worth pointing out, such as the development of a global information network against terrorism, the updating of the Committee's web site and the convening of a meeting with the International Atomic Energy Agency, the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons, the World Customs Organization and Interpol, among other specialized agencies whose activities relate to the control of the use of nuclear, chemical, biological and other dangerous materials. The Rio Group also welcomes the recent holding of a meeting in Geneva among representatives of the group of experts of the CTC and the Human Rights Committee. We hope for the continuation of meetings between the CTC and other organs that promote human rights, because the struggle against terrorism must be firm and unflagging, utilizing all the means set out in the United Nations Charter, treaties and international norms, including those set forth in the legal structure of the OAS. The international community must act with resolve and with respect for the rule of law and international law, and in particular human rights and humanitarian law.

The Rio Group reaffirms its support for the declaration contained in resolution 1456 (2003) adopted at the meeting of Security Council Ministers of Foreign Affairs on 20 January. It takes the view that there is a need to continue to bolster the legal framework to combat terrorism. We hope that it will soon be possible to overcome the differences of view on a comprehensive convention to combat terrorism, so that it can soon become a reality. We also hope that the

same will apply to the draft convention to combat acts of nuclear terrorism and in the review of the Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Material.

I reaffirm the Rio Group's commitment to United Nations efforts to combat terrorism, and wish to express our gratitude to Ambassador Jeremy Greenstock for his outstanding leadership of the CTC, which has enabled the Committee to achieve significant progress in this first stage. We should also particularly mention the experts who worked with the Committee providing technical advice. Similarly, we wish to say how pleased we are that our friend Ambassador Inocencio Arias is about to take over the leadership of the CTC. We are certain that under his stewardship, the Committee will continue its important tasks and receive a fresh impetus.

The members of the Rio Group wish to reaffirm once again our determined resolve to do our utmost to contribute to the efforts of this Organization to defeat terrorism for the sake of stability and peace.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): The next speaker on my list is the representative of Brazil. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Sardenberg (Brazil) (*spoke in Spanish*): On behalf of the Government of Brazil and also in my own name, I wish to say how pleased we are at seeing you, Sir, presiding over the Council at such a critical moment for this Organization and for multilateralism in general. I am certain that the interests of all of who aspire to a fairer world in which the institutions of international law can prevail will be in good hands in the course of your Presidency.

I wish also to associate myself with the statement just made by the Permanent Representative of Peru on behalf of the Rio Group, which I shall strive not to repeat in the short statement that I shall be making in my national capacity.

I would be remiss if I failed to convey to Ambassador Jeremy Greenstock our sincere appreciation for the determined and skilful way in which he has conducted the work of the Counter-Terrorism Committee since its establishment following the tragic terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001. His efforts to promote transparency in the work of the Committee have been an important factor in the unprecedented impact that the work of the Committee has had among the membership of the Organization.

To conclude my words of gratitude, I would also like to express my thanks for the praiseworthy work of the team of independent experts and the Secretariat.

The creation of the Committee at that moment in time attested to the Council's prompt capacity for reaction. The widespread cooperation of Members of the Organization shows not only the crucial importance that the international community attaches to combating terrorism, but also the capacity of the Security Council, when it works in unity to pursue a common purpose, to find the right response to every situation.

Terrorism is one of the greatest threats to international peace and security, human rights, fundamental freedoms and democratic institutions, and it also has a grave effect on the economic and social development of States.

The people and the Government of Brazil oppose terrorist acts in all their forms and manifestations. By a constitutional provision, repudiation of terrorism is one of the principles by which Brazil carries out its international activities. Combating international terrorism must be undertaken by all means compatible with the Charter and the instruments of international law. In the context of this struggle, Brazil has ratified nine of the 12 global agreements negotiated within the scope of the United Nations, specialized agencies and the International Atomic Energy Agency, which have all now been enacted into domestic law. The National Congress is considering the ratification of the three remaining conventions, the Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Maritime Navigation and the Protocol for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Fixed Platforms located on the Continental Shelf, which were negotiated within the framework of the International Maritime Organization, and the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism.

The fight against terrorism cannot be waged to the detriment of due legal process, human rights and civil liberties. Any sacrifice of fundamental freedoms that allows scope for arbitrary or discriminatory acts marks a step backwards, and caters precisely to the interests of the very groups that sponsor terrorist activities. The protection of human rights should guide

the execution of our counter-terrorism security policies.

Similarly, the Government of Brazil believes that above and beyond suppression and eradication, priority should also be given to preventing terrorist acts by combating the deep-rooted causes, many of which may be social and economic in origin. Accordingly, there is a need for increased cooperation among judicial bodies and financial and police intelligence agencies, in order to repress possible association between terrorist groups and other criminal organizations. There is also a need for promotion of the values of democracy and tolerance and of cooperation for the purposes of economic and social development.

As a universal threat, terrorism has compelled us all to take measures to combat it on the national, regional and multilateral levels. The multiple facets of the problem of terrorism and the multidimensional scope of the campaign against it call for a high degree of coordination. An initiative of such magnitude can only be successful if it is carried out with the transparency and universality that only the United Nations can provide.

Through the holding of its meeting with international, regional and subregional organizations in March, the Committee has taken the first steps towards that coordination. As is noted in the work programme for this quarter, it intends to further pursue this course.

The scourge of terrorism, tragically, is a reality that we will have to face in the long term. Thus, it is of crucial importance for the Council to maintain its unity of purpose in this regard.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): The next speaker on my list is the representative of the Republic of Korea. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Sun (Republic of Korea): At the outset, my delegation expresses its warm congratulations to you, Sir, on your assumption of this month's presidency of the Security Council, and we welcome the convening of this open debate on counter-terrorism.

Today's meeting has special significance, as it marks the completion of Ambassador Jeremy Greenstock's outstanding chairmanship of the Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC). Undoubtedly, he has played a central role in the fight against terrorism by initiating, facilitating and enhancing our common endeavours in a most effective and transparent manner. On behalf of the Government of the Republic of Korea, I should like to express our deepest gratitude to him for his dedication and service over the past years. I join others in wishing him every success in the years to come. My delegation's appreciation goes also to the CTC team in the United Kingdom Mission as well as to the independent experts and to the Secretariat staff for their valuable efforts.

More than a year and a half has passed since the Security Council adopted resolution 1373 (2001), following the 11 September 2001 terrorist attacks. Since then, we have had to face painful reminders of the dangers posed by terrorism, such as the attacks in Bali, Moscow and Mombasa. However, with the unabated will and commitment of the international community under the guidance of the Security Council, we are now less vulnerable and more capable than we were in September 2001 with regard to coping with terrorist challenges.

Recently, political momentum and practical ways to combat terrorism were further strengthened in the 20 January ministerial meeting of the Security Council and in the 6 March special meeting of the CTC with regional, subregional and international organizations. We believe that resolution 1456 (2003), adopted at the ministerial meeting, was yet another milestone in the strengthening of resolution 1373 (2001). We also value the achievements of the special meeting of the CTC — the first such occasion — in directing diverse activities aimed at coordinated and unified actions.

In addition, given the close inter-linkages between the work of the CTC and that of the Committee established pursuant to Security Council resolution 1267 (1999), my delegation welcomes the Council's reaffirmation of the need for improved coordination and increased exchange of information between the two bodies, as set forth in resolution 1455 (2003).

Let me now turn to the CTC's new quarterly work programme, covering the months of April through June this year. While welcoming and fully supporting what is envisaged in the programme, my delegation has a few comments to make.

First, we believe that it was most timely and appropriate for the CTC to have chosen the improvement of information flow as a priority in the coming months. With the fifth highest ratio of online

population in the world, the Republic of Korea fully recognizes the importance of developing a global information network in the field of counter-terrorism. The current CTC web site is obviously the best source of information available to us. However, given the further need for sharing of best practices, codes and standards between countries and among relevant regional, subregional and international organizations, we believe it is urgent that the CTC enhance its web site as a first-resort, user-friendly and comprehensive focal point for international counter-terrorism efforts.

Secondly, my delegation welcomes the remarkable progress made in the CTC's review of national reports submitted by Member States on their implementation of resolution 1373 (2001). The dedication of independent experts deserves much credit in that regard. Having already submitted its first and second reports in line with the CTC's time limits, the Republic of Korea will shortly be submitting its third report in response to the Committee's request.

Thirdly, as far as the CTC's cooperation with regional, subregional and international organizations is concerned, we believe that the outcome document, the Chairman's remarks and the follow-up Action Plan of the special meeting have clearly articulated the measures and actions needed to enhance the counter-terrorism capacity of relevant organizations.

For its part, the Republic of Korea has been actively contributing to regional, subregional and international efforts to fight terrorism. To mention a few examples, we remain an energetic participant in actions of the Association of South-East Asian Nations Regional Forum (ARF) with regard to terrorism, including in the most recent ARF-sponsored meeting on counter-terrorism and transnational crime, held in March 2003 in Malaysia. In addition, the Republic of Korea, together with Australia, is playing a leading role in the Asia-Pacific region's efforts to fight money-laundering and terrorist financing. Furthermore, the Korean Financial Intelligence Unit, as a member of the Egmont Group, is taking a proactive part in the global fight against money-laundering and other financial crimes.

Fourthly, my delegation shares the sense of urgency with regard to the need for the provision of assistance and supports the CTC's facilitating role in that field. We are considering various ways and means to share our counter-terrorism experiences with other countries in a more effective and beneficial manner.

Let me conclude my remarks by reaffirming the Republic of Korea's firm commitment to fighting terrorism and by expressing our full confidence in the incoming Spanish chairmanship of the CTC, under Ambassador Inocencio Arias, whose wisdom and leadership are well known in our diplomatic community.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): The next speaker is the representative of Cambodia. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Sun (Cambodia): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) — namely, Brunei Darussalam, Cambodia, Indonesia, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, Malaysia, Myanmar, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Viet Nam.

At the outset, we should like to pay tribute to Sir Jeremy Greenstock and his team for their excellent efforts in guiding the work of the Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC) since its establishment in 2001. We commend their commitment to ensuring the effective implementation of Security Council resolution 1373 (2001). Despite their many heavy responsibilities, they have remained focused on carrying out the work programme of the CTC aimed at fulfilling its mandate.

We appreciate the many initiatives that the CTC has undertaken to engage various international, regional and subregional organizations in the global effort to combat terrorism. In this regard, ASEAN welcomed the convening of the special CTC meeting on 6 March 2003. ASEAN's participation in the meeting complemented its own efforts at the regional level. It also provided an opportunity to further enhance regional and international counter-terrorism networks, and to exchange information, as well as best practices.

ASEAN welcomes the CTC's seventh work programme, which will further advance its work. We are encouraged by the CTC's plan to organize a meeting with technical agencies and organizations relating to the control of the use of or access to nuclear, chemical, biological and other deadly materials so as to evaluate ways to enhance the effectiveness of global action against terrorism in this area.

ASEAN commends the CTC for its efforts in providing valuable information on best practices, model laws and assistance programmes through the Directory of Counter-Terrorism Information and Sources of Assistance. ASEAN takes note of the creation of a regional action section on the CTC's web site. That will be an effective tool for sharing information among various organizations.

ASEAN's commitment to counter-terrorism has been reflected at the highest level. Our leaders adopted a Declaration on Terrorism during the Eighth ASEAN Summit, held in Phnom Penh, Cambodia, from 4 to 5 November 2002. The Declaration expressed, inter alia, the determination of ASEAN to build on previously agreed measures, and to intensify efforts to prevent, counter and suppress terrorist activities in the region. Most recently, at the working level, an ASEAN Regional Forum intersessional meeting on counter-terrorism and transnational crime was successfully held in Karambunai, Malaysia, from 21 to 22 March 2003.

In line with our Work Programme to implement the ASEAN Plan of Action to Combat Transnational Crime, ASEAN has also carried out various training programmes and projects in countering terrorism this year. In addition, ASEAN focal points on counter-terrorism have also been established. These include courses on psychological operations for law enforcement authorities and on intelligence procuring. We are also planning to organize courses on bomb and explosive detection, post-blast investigation, airport security and passport and document security and inspection.

ASEAN believes that the international fight against terrorism will become counter-productive unless its focus and momentum is consistently maintained. For its part, ASEAN will continue its tradition of close cooperation with the CTC in its efforts to sustain the process. In this connection, we would like to welcome the incoming Chairman, Mr. Inocencio Arias of Spain. We have full confidence in his leadership and trust that he will steer the Committee towards new achievements and successes.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Australia. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Dauth (Australia): Australia welcomes this opportunity once again to address the Security Council on a matter of vital interest to United Nations Members — the issue of terrorism and how the United Nations and the international community should deal with it.

Sadly, we do so against the background of yet more terrorist bombings in our own region, this time in the Philippine city of Davao, which have taken the lives of many innocent civilians. The Australian Government condemns those bombings in the strongest terms and conveys its sympathy to the families and victims of those horrific attacks.

I would like to say at the outset that Australia fully endorses the statement to be made by Fiji on behalf of the Pacific Islands Forum, of which we are, of course, a member. Much has been said today, by many representatives, with which we can associate ourselves, and we join Forum countries and others in voicing our sincere thanks to Ambassador Jeremy Greenstock for his outstanding work in leading the Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC) through a very difficult period. The energy and direction that he has brought to the work of the Committee has ensured that it has played a highly effective role in the global effort to fight terrorism. Australia and the other members of the international community concerned with combating this scourge are deeply in his debt.

It is vital that the international community adopt a comprehensive, coherent and cooperative approach to fighting terrorism. Security Council resolution 1373 (2001) provides both the obligation and the framework for such an approach. The CTC in turn has played an important role in the realization of that obligation.

In particular, the CTC has ensured that the flow of information between States and organizations highlights methods of best practice, fosters cooperation and facilitates the provision of international assistance that is critical to achieving our goal of reducing the threat posed by international terrorist networks. The adoption of the ministerial declaration annexed to resolution 1456 (2003) underlined the importance of the CTC and those aspects of its role.

We commend the CTC's recent focus on strengthening the role of regional and international organizations in counter-terrorism activities, reflected in the special meeting held here in New York on 6 March. The counter-terrorism work of regional and subregional organizations is central to building the capacity needed to fight terrorism. In the same way that

the CTC is a hub for action by United Nations Member States, regional organizations have an important role in disseminating information, providing and facilitating assistance and developing effective regional counter-terrorism strategies. We encourage all United Nations Members to fully support the counter-terrorism work of the regional organizations they belong to and to actively look for ways to improve the effectiveness of that work. By doing so, Members will not only enhance the safety of their own regional neighbourhoods but also strengthen the broader international counter-terrorism network.

The task of monitoring the implementation of resolution 1373 (2001) is likely to continue for some time. In this context, we would like to acknowledge the Committee's valuable role in helping to coordinate the availability and provision of broader counter-terrorism capacity-building assistance for those countries in need. It is vital that every Member State that needs help developing counter-terrorism legislation and law enforcement capacity, for example, is able to get access to the assistance it requires. Australia urges United Nations Member States to strongly support the CTC's work in that area.

Since the attacks of 11 September 2001, the international community has made considerable progress in fighting terrorism. The CTC, guided so ably by Ambassador Greenstock, has contributed substantially to that outcome. Unfortunately, international terrorism is still with us, so the work of the CTC must go on.

Australia very warmly welcomes Ambassador Arias of Spain as the new CTC Chair and looks forward to working closely with him and the other members of the Committee in confronting the challenge posed by international terrorism in the period ahead.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Greece. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Vassilakis (Greece): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the European Union (EU). The acceding countries Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, the Slovak Republic and Slovenia; the associated countries Bulgaria, Romania and Turkey; and the countries of the European Free Trade Association, members of the European Economic Area — Iceland and Norway — declare that they align themselves with this statement.

The European Union unequivocally condemns all acts of terrorism as criminal and unjustifiable, irrespective of their motivation, form and manifestation. The European Union believes that the fight against terrorism requires a global response and national preparedness in order to prevent and suppress terrorist acts. We believe, however, that efforts to combat this scourge must respect human rights and fundamental freedoms, humanitarian law, as well as the rule of law.

The European Union and its member States recognize the central role of the United Nations in the fight against terrorism and have been strongly supporting the Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC). The European Union wishes to reiterate its appreciation to the Counter-Terrorism Committee for its continued hard work and dedication in achieving universal and full implementation of resolution 1373 (2001) and enhancing the counter-terrorist capacities of Member States.

We also would like to pay tribute to the Chairman of the CTC, Sir Jeremy Greenstock, for the excellent work he has done. Under his guidance and advice, the Committee has found its way to successfully deal with the many challenges it faced and to chart a sure course for the future. At the same time, we extend to his successor, Ambassador Arias of Spain, our best wishes for an accomplished turn at the helm of the Committee.

The European Union and its member States have displayed a sincere interest in all endeavours undertaken by the Counter-Terrorism Committee in pursuing the fulfilment of its mandate. We would particularly like to underline the Security Council ministerial meeting on combating terrorism of 20 January 2003, and resolution 1456 (2003) calling on all States to take urgent action to prevent and suppress all active and passive support for terrorism. That resolution also underlines the importance of technical and other assistance to States in order to improve their capacity to prevent and fight terrorism. In this respect, it calls on all States to assist each other and invites the CTC to step up its efforts to facilitate the provision of such assistance by developing targets and priorities for global action.

Resolution 1456 (2003) stresses the need for closer cooperation between the CTC and regional and

subregional organizations in the fight against terrorism. The European Union welcomed the convening of the special meeting of the CTC with international, regional and subregional organizations on 6 March this year. At that meeting, the EU submitted a third report, contained in document S/AC.40/2003/SM.1/2, detailing the wide range of legislative and political measures taken in the areas covered by resolution 1373 (2001). The report also indicated that signature and ratification of the 12 United Nations counter-terrorism conventions is a matter of high priority for the EU member States, which are committed to ratification through the adoption of Council Common Position 2001/930/CFSP of 27 December 2001.

The fight against the financing of terrorism continues to be a priority for the European Union. A number of recommendations have been adopted in order to enhance the efforts of the European Union in this field. In particular, the European Union has strengthened its internal procedures so as to prevent terrorist groups from obtaining or deviating funds that are directed towards charitable purposes.

Furthermore, the EU attaches great importance to international and regional cooperation in the fight against terrorism. It has signed bilateral agreements and developed cooperation mechanisms with third countries. Anti-terrorism clauses are being included in many EU agreements with third countries. The EU actively supports and participates in the counter-terrorism activities carried out in the Council of Europe, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe and various United Nations bodies, including the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. In addition, the EU has taken various steps to provide technical assistance to third countries in their efforts to implement resolution 1373 (2001). New projects have been developed, specifically designed to help selected countries to fulfil their obligations under the resolution.

Moreover, the European Union has adopted measures in the field of police and judicial cooperation in order to combat terrorism. The Framework Decision on combating terrorism will provide member States with a common definition of terrorist acts and terrorist groups. Likewise, the European Arrest Warrant provides for simplified surrender procedures between judicial authorities of member States, based upon the principle of mutual recognition of judicial decisions.

The European Union believes that possible links between terrorism and organized crime and drug trafficking merit close attention. An EU Council Decision has been adopted recently to counter these problems by placing specific emphasis on simultaneous investigation. A joint Commission-EU Council civil protection programme has been established to improve cooperation in the European Union for preventing and limiting the consequences of chemical, biological, radiological or nuclear terrorist threats.

The European Union also recognizes the role of the Terrorism Prevention Branch of the Centre for International Crime Prevention in strengthening the capabilities of the United Nations in the prevention of terrorism and in offering advice on the implementation of both the pertinent Security Council resolutions and the United Nations legal instruments against terrorism.

In addition, in order to reduce the risk posed should certain terrorist groups gain access to weapons of mass destruction, radioactive materials and means of delivery, the European Union has taken concrete measures in the field of strengthening the relevant multilateral instruments on disarmament, arms control and proliferation; improving export controls; strengthening disarmament cooperation; and enhancing political dialogue with third states.

Finally, the European Union is fully committed to actively and closely cooperating with the United Nations towards the common goal of combating terrorism.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of the Philippines. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Manalo (Philippines): At the outset, my delegation expresses its great pleasure at seeing you, Sir, in the Chair. We share the confidence expressed by previous speakers in your able leadership. At the same time, we commend the Guinea presidency for its able leadership last month.

My delegation associates itself fully with the statement just made by the Permanent Representative of Cambodia on behalf of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and joins others in thanking Ambassador Greenstock for his briefing on the seventh work programme of the Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC).

It has been 18 months since the Security Council initiated a global coalition against terrorism. Member States have been actively engaged in strengthening their efforts to fight terrorism at the national, regional and international levels. Resolution 1373 (2001) served to guide this undertaking, and the Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC) which it established, under the chairmanship of Ambassador Greenstock, provided the linchpin for the Member States' evaluation of their existing capacities in countering terrorism.

Today's meeting is a fitting occasion to take stock of where we are and where we wish to proceed. While the very positive response in the signing and ratification of legal instruments to suppress terrorism is notable, much remains to be done. Despite the increased priority given by the international community to combating terrorism, many initiatives have to manifest themselves more fully. Terrorist attacks continue in a number of countries, including in the Philippines just this week. Hence, echoing the view put forth by the Secretary-General in January, during the ministerial meeting on Counter-Terrorism, sustained long-term action is imperative. In that connection, the CTC's regular briefings on the progress of the implementation of resolution 1456 (2003) have been valuable, and we encourage the Committee to maintain that practice. We hope that transparency will be preserved in the future work of the CTC.

The special CTC meeting on international, regional and subregional organizations, held last month, was useful in that regard. We look forward to follow-up actions to pursue the recommendations of that meeting. At this juncture, I should like to express my delegation's appreciation for the swift issuance of the list of contacts called for by the special regional meeting.

The progress of the focus of the CTC's programme of work from individual States to regional and international cooperation marks the beginning of a new phase in its work. My delegation hopes that this will set the stage for more concrete and doable cooperative activities in the future.

The CTC's programme of matching donors and recipients of technical assistance, under the guidance of Mr. Curtis Ward, deserves our appreciation. Needless to say, that programme should be vigorously pursued by Member States, as well as by regional and international groups.

There have been some notable recent developments in my country in the combat against terrorism, particularly with respect to the suppression of the financing of terrorism. Recently, the Philippine Government enacted financial controls that bring the Philippines into compliance with international anti-money-laundering and terrorist-financing standards. The programmes of assistance to evaluate financial systems and to develop counter-terrorism finance training programmes, extended by donor countries such as the United States and the European Union, are appreciated. Also, the Philippines has now ratified 11 of the 12 international conventions on combating terrorism.

Turning to our region's response to resolutions 1373 (2001) and 1456 (2003), my delegation wishes to underline that it has been engaged in various initiatives and political declarations of the Association of South-East Asian Nations in support of those two landmark resolutions.

Finally, as Chairman Greenstock hands the chairmanship of the CTC over to Ambassador Arias of Spain, my delegation wishes to express our appreciation to Ambassador Greenstock for his outstanding work in translating resolution 1373 (2001) into action, and we wish to express our full confidence in Ambassador Arias with respect to undertaking the challenging task of building upon resolutions 1373 (2001) and 1456 (2003). My delegation assures Ambassador Arias of our continuing cooperation and support. Last but certainly not least, we pay tribute to the CTC team of experts and the Secretariat for their fine work and cooperation.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Japan. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Motomura (Japan): Mr. President, I thank you for convening this meeting. At the outset, I would like to express my deepest appreciation to the outgoing chairman of the Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC), Ambassador Jeremy Greenstock, and his staff, for their excellent work since the Committee's inception. The international community owes him a debt of gratitude for his dedicated leadership in the fight against terrorism since the attacks of 11 September 2001. At the same time, I am pleased to congratulate the new Chairman, Ambassador Arias, and to express my

confidence that, under his guidance, the CTC will continue to work effectively in combating terrorism.

Japan continues to stress the importance of the following three elements in the fight against terrorism.

First, we must deny potential terrorists the means of engaging in terrorist activities. That is to say, we must take strict measures to cut off sources of funding and to stem the flow of weapons to terrorists. In particular, in the light of their huge destructive potential, strict non-proliferation measures are crucial to prevent weapons of mass destruction from falling into the hands of terrorists. We call upon the CTC, in cooperation with relevant international organizations, to give due attention to this area. Strengthening coordination between the CTC and the Security Council committee established pursuant to resolution 1267 (1999) is also important. The latter committee, under the leadership of its Chairman, Ambassador Juan Gabriel Valdés of Chile, has achieved considerable progress in this regard. I would also like to point out, however, that the information included in the consolidated list of the 1267 Committee needs to be further enriched, so as to enable Member States to better identify suspicious assets and accounts.

Secondly, we must deny safe haven to terrorists. Preventing and combating terrorism require that the international community act in concert and implement measures in a unified manner. The counter-terrorism conventions and protocols are playing an essential role towards that end. We appreciate the efforts of the CTC to encourage Member States to accede to those conventions and protocols and would like to urge that the expertise of the relevant international organizations also be mobilized to facilitate that goal. The special meeting of the CTC held last month provided an excellent opportunity to share information regarding the standards, codes and best practices of relevant international organizations. As a contracting party to all 12 counter-terrorism conventions, Japan is prepared to provide information and assistance in solving problems, including legal issues, based on its own experience with respect to the conclusion of those conventions.

Thirdly, we must strive to overcome vulnerability to terrorist activities. Naturally, terrorists go after soft targets, which means that it is becoming all the more important to improve domestic security measures. The CTC must remain focused on capacity-building efforts by countries, and the donor community should strengthen its support for the activities of the CTC.

I have to stress that international terrorism is by no means a product born of a clash between civilizations; it is always a barbarous assault on the civilized world, born out of cynicism, nihilism and anarchism. Terrorism threatens world stability and the lives of people everywhere. Those who feel sympathetic towards extremist terrorist groups should realize that terrorism is antithetical to the values we all share. In disseminating this truth, I believe we can contribute to overcoming vulnerability to terrorism.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Norway. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Kolby (Norway): Norway aligns itself with the statement by the European Union. However, I would like to make some additional comments.

First, I would like to join in thanking Ambassador Greenstock and his team for chairing the Counter-Terrorism Committee in an excellent manner since its creation in October 2001 and to congratulate him on the remarkable progress achieved under his leadership. I would also like to take this opportunity to welcome Ambassador Arias of Spain as the new Chairman, and to assure him of our full support in the work that lies ahead.

The Committee's emphasis on cooperation, dialogue, partnership and transparency seems to have paid dividends. The strategy of cooperation with international, regional and subregional organizations on promulgating best practices, seeking synergies of approach and the provision of assistance to Member States requiring technical support seems to have been very successful.

Norway welcomed the convening of the special meeting of the Committee on 6 March, which brought together representatives of international, regional and subregional organizations with the aim of ensuring effective and systematic cooperation in the fight against terrorism. We are pleased to see that the contact has been formalized through the Committee's follow-up action plan. The action plan touches upon crucial themes such as information flow, international best practices, codes and standards and the role of regional

and subregional organizations, as well as facilitating the provision of assistance.

We are mindful of the technical difficulties some Member States may have in implementing the legal and financial measures envisaged in resolution 1373 (2001). Implementation through national legislation that covers all aspects and the establishment of appropriate executive instruments is no small task. This situation raises concerns that must be resolved through positive and coordinated action. We are, therefore, pleased to see that the action plan contains measures for facilitating the provision of assistance.

Norway has provided technical assistance at the regional as well as the bilateral level. We have supported the African Union's work towards the effective and comprehensive implementation of resolution 1373 (2001) by its member States and have provided support for a project aimed at strengthening the capacity of countries in the region of the Southern African Development Community in order to follow up the specific measures of the resolution.

Similarly, Norway has contributed bilateral technical assistance in the implementation of the obligations under resolution 1373 (2001) and related international obligations, as well as in the drafting and formatting of the national reports required by resolution 1373 (2001). The process has provided Norway with valuable knowledge and experience, which we are prepared to share with the Committee and its members.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Colombia. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Giraldo (Colombia) (*spoke in Spanish*): Allow me at the outset to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of April and to wish you every success in your work. I also wish to thank and commend the representative of Guinea for the effective way in which he conducted the Council's work last month.

Colombia fully endorses the statement made by the Permanent Representative of Peru on behalf of the Rio Group. However, the Government of Colombia has decided to speak in this open debate of the Security Council because of the importance of this issue to our country, which is waging an unrelenting struggle against terrorism and which seeks international solidarity in this endeavour.

I want to begin by thanking the Chairman of the Counter-Terrorism Committee, the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom, Sir Jeremy Greenstock, for his briefing and for his intensive work.

At the meeting on 20 February 2003, Colombia highlighted the two inseparable aspects — internal and external — that exist in our conflict today. With regard to the internal aspect, we stated that we recognized our obligations. Colombia has undertaken the struggle against terrorism within a democratic framework, in accordance with its Constitution and laws, the international treaties on human rights and international humanitarian law. Our democratic security policy seeks to protect all Colombians: civilians, union members, human rights defenders, businesspeople and workers. Democracy in security means security for all.

But there is also an external aspect that is key in the fight against terrorism. It has been shown that the international financial networks used by terrorists are similar to those used by the illicit drug and arms traffickers. On 20 January 2003, the Security Council, meeting at the ministerial level, issued a declaration, annexed to resolution 1456 (2003), which rightly reaffirmed that,

> "terrorists must also be prevented from making use of other criminal activities such as transnational organized crime, illicit drugs and drug trafficking, money-laundering and illicit arms trafficking".

For that reason, we wish to thank the Government of Canada for having included on its list of terrorist organizations the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), the National Liberation Army (ELN) and the United Self-defence Groups of Colombia (AUC), illegal armed groups that direct their activities against the rule of law and civilians in my country. This constitutes ethical, political and legal support that indicates a procedure which we hope will be taken into account by all countries wishing to assist us in our fight against terror.

Recognizing that reality is fundamentally important for Colombia, where terrorism is supported by such international criminal activities, which are fundamentally related to the global problem of illicit drugs. Our experience has taught us that the

international community's struggle against the global drug problem, in which the principle of shared responsibility has been accepted, is a key factor in the fight against terrorism. Similarly, success in combating terrorism will depend on the extent to which we also make the principle of shared responsibility effective in this area. Combating terrorism is the responsibility of us all. In this fight, every State must undertake a task in keeping with its circumstances and in accordance with its capacity to carry it out.

On the issue of shared responsibility, Colombia calls on the international community to wage a full fight against the criminal activities that feed terrorism in our country. As President Uribe of Colombia has said:

> "We have the moral authority to ask for international cooperation because we are committed to respecting human rights, because our democracy is one that is governed by the rule of law and not by the whim of rulers. We have the moral authority to ask for international cooperation against terrorism because we have never rejected dialogue or humanitarian agreements. The international community is aware of our unswerving decision to defeat violence and of our infinite readiness for reconciliation in sincere peace".

In reaffirming our support for the work that is being done by the Security Council and its Counter-Terrorism Committee in combating this universal scourge, I wish to restate our gratitude to Ambassador Greenstock for the important work he has done and to state our certainty that the Ambassador of the Kingdom of Spain, Inocencio Arias, will continue, with fresh impetus, to pursue the important tasks of the Committee and the Security Council. Both of these bodies have the tremendous responsibility of meeting our peoples' expectations concerning their historic role in combating terrorism in all regions of the world.

In conclusion, Colombia reiterates its call for cooperation on the part of the international community, not in terms of funds but in terms of legal and police activities, such as those called for in resolution 1373 (2001), in order successfully to combat terrorism. The nature of acts of terrorism should not be determined solely by the location in which they are committed or by their global or national scope, but also by the origin of the phenomena that trigger them and the monies that finance them. In this area of international cooperation, the United Nations has the capacity, experience and moral authority to assist the regions of the world afflicted by the scourge of terrorism.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Fiji. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Savua (Fiji): It is my honour to address the Security Council on behalf of the members of the Pacific Islands Forum group that are Members of the United Nations, namely Australia, Kiribati, the Marshall Islands, the Federated States of Micronesia, Nauru, New Zealand, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu and my own country, Fiji.

This meeting provides a useful opportunity to reflect on the work done by the Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC) to combat terrorism and associated transnational crime since it was established by the now-landmark Security Council resolution 1373 (2001) nearly a year and half ago. That resolution brought a new element to the existing multilateral counter-terrorism framework and reflected a recognition of terrorism as a global problem which, if it is to be eliminated, requires cooperative action at the national, regional and international levels. The subsequent ministerial declaration adopted by the Security Council in its resolution 1456 (2003) further underscored the need for counter-terrorism actions to reflect international best practices, including the need to protect human rights.

There is no doubt that the Counter-Terrorism Committee has played an important role in guiding and assisting Member States in their implementation of resolution 1373 (2001). In this task, the CTC has assisted in prompting and focusing Government action. It has served States in identifying and defining the required standards for action. Furthermore, the CTC's efforts in placing States in contact with available sources of assistance have greatly contributed to the critical task of enhancing capacity to take such action. In that regard, we are grateful to the team of experts assisting the CTC for facilitating the provision of assistance as required. The clear identification of assistance needs is a critical first step towards the development of individual and regional capacity.

We also strongly support the CTC's recent initiative to meet with relevant regional and international organizations, and its subsequent action plan to take forward the dialogue necessary to coordinate counter-terrorism action. Effective regional cooperation and coordination are vital to members of our group to complement our national efforts and capacities to implement resolution 1373 (2001).

At this point, the Pacific Islands Forum group would like to record its gratitude and appreciation for the leadership demonstrated by the inaugural Chairman of the CTC, Sir Jeremy Greenstock. Sir Jeremy's vision breathed life into the mandate of resolution 1373 (2001). He gained the confidence States Members of the United Nations very early on in his chairmanship, during the most tumultuous months for the Organization. His efforts to ensure that the CTC at all times worked in an open and transparent manner were critical to the Committee's success to date, and were greatly appreciated by the member States of the Pacific Islands Forum Group. We were very much warmed by Sir Jeremy's leadership, which encouraged members of our group to rise to the challenges that resolution 1373 (2001) presented.

As the CTC now moves into a new phase, under the chairmanship of Ambassador Arias, the Permanent Representative of Spain, we are mindful that its ongoing work will continue to flow from its role as a monitoring body. Its task in monitoring implementation of the specific obligations of resolution 1373 (2001) places it in a unique position to act as a focal point for States in relation to international counter-terrorism activities. We look forward to continuing to work with the Counter-Terrorism Committee and its new Chairman.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): The next speaker on my list is the representative of Afghanistan. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Farhâd (Afghanistan): Mr. President, at the outset, allow me to congratulate Mexico on its assumption of the presidency of the Security Council during this month of April. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to you, Sir, for having convened this timely open discussion of the Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC) in order to consider the work of this Committee during its next period of work. In addition, I would like also to seize this opportunity to commend highly the vigorous and sustained efforts of Ambassador Jeremy Greenstock as Chairman of the CTC over the past 18 months.

My delegation remains confident that the arduous mission of Ambassador Greenstock, as Chairman of the CTC, and his team will be successfully continued by Ambassador Arias of Spain, a well-known diplomat of outstanding ability.

It is quite clear that Afghanistan has been one of the main victims of terrorism. For nearly five years, during the reign of the Taliban, the people of Afghanistan suffered tremendously from the menace imposed by that regime and the Al Qaeda terrorist network. However, the international military campaign, along with the courageous support of the Afghan people, resulted in the eradication of that regime and its Al Qaeda ally. Nevertheless, we should remain mindful of the fact that remnants of the Taliban remain active along the eastern and southern border of Afghanistan. Therefore, it is vital for the international community to sustain its vigorous focus and support of the Transitional Government in the combat against terrorist activities.

The Transitional Government of Afghanistan remains strongly committed to the full implementation of resolutions 1373 (2001) and 1456 (2003), which was adopted at the ministerial meeting on 20 January 2003. Afghanistan has submitted its national reports to the CTC in line with the timetable provided. To this effect, allow me to inform the Council that the Transitional Government of Afghanistan is currently engaged in establishing a Counter-Terrorism Department within the Ministry of the Interior to prevent and deal with acts of terrorism throughout the country. We are confident that this Department will fulfil its mandate.

In addition to outlining the progress we have made, we would like also to inform the Council that Afghanistan is in the process of restructuring its legal and security apparatus. Therefore, we would like to renew our request that the CTC dispatch an assessment team to Afghanistan in order to assist in the adoption of the legislative acts and administrative measures necessary to meet all requirements of resolution 1373 (2001).

We acknowledge the fact that the fight against international terrorism should enjoy the broad support and cooperation of all Member States and regional and subregional organizations. In this context, my

delegation welcomes the special meeting of the CTC held on 6 March 2003, which brought together representatives of international, regional and subregional organizations in order to enhance the effectiveness of global action against terrorism. All participants shared important information regarding their initiatives and measures taken to combat terrorism. We are convinced that Member States can adopt the best practices, codes and standards provided by representatives at that 6 March special meeting.

I would like to reiterate my Government's commitment to continuing its struggle against terrorism in Afghanistan and to work with other Member States and international, regional and subregional organizations for the full implementation of resolutions 1373 (2001) and 1456 (2003).

Free Afghanistan was fighting against the terrorism of the Taliban and of Al Qaeda five years before 11 September 2001. Let me remind the Council that it was two days earlier, on 9 September 2001, when the heroic Afghan resistance leader Ahmad Shah Massoud was killed by two Al Qaeda suicide terrorists. Today the Afghans are ready to fight any re-emergence of the Taliban. Now, the international community has to be on our side.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): I now give the floor to Sir Jeremy Greenstock to respond to comments and questions that have been raised in the debate.

Sir Jeremy: I am very grateful to members of the Council and to Members of the United Nations for their interventions today, and I have especially appreciated those delegations that have spoken for their regional groups. I think that the more we take forward the regional and subregional collective approach on this subject, the more progress we are going to make.

Let me just take up a few points that came out of the debate. I will not take long, because many of the points are familiar to members. But I am sure that Ambassador Arias and his team will want to follow up with the Committee on some of these points. Pakistan, warmly supported by Chile, Mexico, Peru and others, referred to the need to follow up on the interplay between counter-terrorism and human rights and suggested a meeting with the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights and other human rights bodies on that interplay. Certainly, the United Kingdom delegation would warmly welcome that. We are in close liaison with the Office of the High Commissioner and with human rights bodies, and quite soon we shall organize, as members know, a meeting with a visitor from the Human Rights Committee.

But that can be taken further. The role of civil society is important, and I think that in taking this aspect of our work forward, we need to be conscious, with perhaps a touch of pride, that the Security Council is constantly making advances in the way in which it identifies the fulfilment of human rights obligations with the promotion of peace and security. I think that is a good thing.

The representative of France suggested that the Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC) should identify, to a greater extent, the generic difficulties faced by Member States in meeting the obligations under in resolution 1373 (2001) and find answers to those difficulties. I think we have begun in some respects to do that, but I think I agree with the Ambassador that he is pointing to something which we have not yet done enough of, and perhaps it is something that can be taken up in the future. It goes together with the promotion of concrete results on the ground, and it keeps the nose of the Committee to the grindstone of results, rather than just bureaucratic activity. And I appreciate the spirit of that comment.

In the same vein, the United States referred to the possibility of increasing the number of out site visits in the future, which I think is another point that we need to follow up. We just heard a request from the Ambassador of Afghanistan to have a team visit to help his Government carry through obligations that are quite difficult to implement on the ground. I myself think that this should be done by experts rather than by the delegations on the Committee, but site visits — visits on the ground — are something that perhaps we might consider over the next period.

Likewise — and this is also related to concretizing our results — I think that in my period we did not do enough to tease out the fraternal relationship between the 1373 Committee and the 1267 Committee. I hope that the Hispanic brotherhood will do better than I have done. But we do not do lists; the 1267 Committee does. But there is more than that to the correlation between the two, and I think there again there are results on the ground to be teased out of that relationship.

I would like quickly to touch on the six questions raised by the representative of India, because there is

interesting information and substance in that and perhaps, also, a touch of needle. Let me give some answers to the questions he raised. First, how do we deal with a situation where a Member State is not enforcing effective compliance? Well, we are going to get into that in the next period. It is the firmness bit of the sensitivity and firmness that I mentioned earlier. We are going to have to demand performance up to the standards of resolution 1373 (2001).

Secondly, it will also help — there is no getting away from this, although so far we have not addressed it in the Committee since it is not our job — to have a definition of terrorism from the General Assembly. I believe we should be making more progress on that than we are.

Thirdly, doing what the representative of India has asked for means that we have to address all regional problems that touch on terrorism — some of them not so far from his own country — and the regional mechanisms for addressing them also have to be effective. All these three things, I think, have to be taken forward.

Can we avoid intrusiveness into Member States' affairs? Yes, because we set up, way back in our business arrangements for confidentiality, and the CTC can still follow those rules if Member States want to take difficult questions to the area of the experts only and not share them with other Member States. The arrangements are there.

Is there a need for us to concentrate more on internationally negotiated and agreed arrangements? Well, we are based on resolution 1373 (2001); that is our internationally agreed basis. If we use other standards, such as those of the Financial Action Task Force on Money Laundering (FATT), it is only because they are entirely compatible and consistent with resolution 1373 (2001).

Should we have a more representative, regional balance? Well, that is up to the regions. We are open to all the regions and to any subregional group that Member States would like to form. You have got to come halfway to meet us; we are not going to create new regional arrangements just for our own business. They come out of Member States' obligations and the easier implementation of international obligations through collective activity.

Should we not move at the pace of the slowest or of the fastest? Well, we do not. This is the tailored approached. I think that I made that very clear in my remarks this morning. It is the policy of the Committee to ask every Member State to move no faster and no slower than their best pace under their own capability.

Finally, concerning information on assistance, we recognize that we need to improve our web site. We would like to have more information from donor States. I am sure that the next period will see advances in that area. But they were all constructive criticisms. I hope that we can persuade Member States that in all those areas we are doing the right things, even if we have to do them faster.

I would like to make a final, general remark, inspired perhaps by the Ambassador of Japan, who spoke to us this afternoon. Terrorism does not come out of differences between peoples or between Governments, or arguments between different parts of the United Nations and the inter-governmental system. It comes out of barbarism and a lack of respect for the most fundamental human values. In combating terrorism, I think that in the Security Council and in the Committee, we are standing up for the core objectives of the United Nations. That is why the Committee itself has had such an overwhelming response of support from the United Nations membership at large. I, myself, over my 18 months here, am extremely grateful for that support.

The more we do, the more we see we need to do. In that respect, I think Ambassador Arias has got a huge task in front of him. But he will meet it. I wish him luck with it. He will have the full support of the United Kingdom delegation.

Thank you, Mr. President. Over and out.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): My warm thanks to Sir Jeremy Greenstock for these points of clarification.

Mr. Mekdad (Syrian Arab Republic) (*spoke in Arabic*): We met today for two purposes. The first is to honour Sir Jeremy Greenstock and express how much we respect the efforts he has made now that the Chairmanship of the Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC) is passing to Ambassador Arias. The second was a quick overview of the CTC's achievements and tasks for the next stage to come.

However, the Israeli representative, who made his statement just before the morning meeting adjourned, did not respect the occasion or the reason why we met. In the manner of a bankrupt merchant, he came back to his old, tattered account books to dig up a number of lies and to fulfil the role entrusted to him to deceive and mislead the Security Council and distract it from its true task of combating terrorism — terrorism that is perpetrated by his Government and army in the occupied territory. Yesterday's daily press briefing by the United Nations Department of Public Information to journalists attests to this. The briefing cited a press release issued by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA), which reads, in part, as follows:

> "In the early morning on 2 April, Israeli military forces broke into and occupied a United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) girls' school in Tulkarem refugee camp in the West Bank, and proceeded to use the school as a detention centre for male residents of the camp between the ages of 15 and 40. The Agency strongly protests this flagrant violation of United Nations privileges and immunities and the continuing denial of UNRWA's access to the school and the camp as a whole, which has been declared a closed military zone."(*PAL/1940*).
>
> A full camp of innocent people is a closed military zone, and the school is used for detention and harassment. The press release goes on the state that UNRWA Commissioner-General Peter Hansen called the occupation of the Agency's school 'a violation of international legal norms' and called on the Israeli authorities 'to leave UNRWA's school and allow UNRWA access to its other facilities in the Tulkarem camp ... so that essential services can be restored to the refugees.'"

Is this not terrorism, by definition? Have other aggressors, except perhaps during the Second World War, committed similar acts? Now the representative of Israel points a finger of accusation at others. Once again, if this is not terrorism, what is it then? The representative of Israel has tried to portray the butcher as victim. However, he has not and will not succeed, because, as everyone knows, what takes place in the occupied Arab territories is a result of Israeli terrorism and Israel's continuing occupation and unprecedented oppression of the Palestinian people and its aspirations to dignity and self-determination.

Even more astonishing, the representative of Israel points a finger of accusation and names and shames, so to speak, other parties. This is laughable indeed. It would seem that the representative of Israel to the United Nations is again ignorant, and to date, seems not to be aware that this particular Security Council has adopted dozens of resolutions that accuse and condemn Israel itself. The United Nations and the Security Council have named and shamed and condemned Israel in dozens of resolutions. However, Israel has resisted international legitimacy and continues to defy it.

In brief, because of the formal nature of this occasion, I should merely like to say that last year alone, more than 2,600 innocent Palestinians were killed by the Israelis, including women, children and the elderly. The Palestinians have done nothing during the past three months, at least, while Israel for its part, during the same period, has killed 300 Palestinians in cold blood without justification. Yesterday alone Israel killed seven innocent Palestinian civilians.

I ask the Council: who is the terrorist? I would repeat: Palestinians living in Syria are victims of Israeli terrorism. They have been displaced by force from their homes and villages and towns. We believe that the only solution is for those people to return to their homes, then there would be no terrorism. There would be no acts of violence, as some call them. We say that those Palestinians have the right to express their hopes and aspirations. They have the right to defend their dignity and protect their rights. It is not the duty of Syria or of any other party to oppress or silence the Palestinians, as Israel wishes. The Palestinians have the right to express themselves under human rights principles and international law. Israel is wrong once again if it believes that Syria can disregard the Palestinians' right to self-expression.

In conclusion, I must return to the purpose of this meeting. I should like once again to congratulate Ambassador Greenstock on all his achievements. I am sorry that the representative of Israel attempted to torpedo the occasion; however, he has failed in that effort. I would emphasize that Syria will continue to fight against terrorism in all its forms and manifestations.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): The representative of Pakistan has requested the floor.

Mr. Akram (Pakistan): It was not my intention to intervene again in our discussion, but I believe that the regional problems to which Sir Jeremy Greenstock just referred have intruded and oblige me to respond to my colleague from India.

My friend from India referred to what he called the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir. The United Nations recognizes Jammu and Kashmir as disputed territory. The maps of the United Nations clearly indicate the line of demarcation — the ceasefire line — between Indian-occupied Kashmir and Azad Kashmir, which is free Kashmir. The Security Council resolutions on Kashmir, calling for a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to enable the people of Jammu and Kashmir to exercise their right to self-determination, remain to be implemented.

At this moment in history, when we have seen a war waged for the purpose of securing the implementation of Security Council resolutions, the people of Jammu and Kashmir and the people of Pakistan ask the Security Council to adopt a standard that is uniform and does not discriminate against them, because they have awaited their freedom and self-determination for 50 years under Indian occupation. It is an occupation of several hundred thousand Indian troops occupying a country the size of Belgium. There is one Indian soldier for every four Kashmiri males. And my colleague from India can speak only about acts of terrorism. It is a pity that he referred to, as he said, 75,000 Indian citizens killed in Kashmir. Those were Kashmiris — more than 80,000 Kashmiris — killed by Indian occupation forces. That is well documented, and my delegation is prepared to circulate those documents for the information of Council members.

In the context of terrorism, the representative of India referred to an incident that occurred a few days ago in Indian-occupied Kashmir in which 24 innocent people were massacred. Pakistan has vigorously condemned that terrorist incident. As usual, India has held one country — to quote my colleague from India — responsible for the situation. We submit that this is a case of the pot calling the kettle black. In such situations, as I said this morning, it is always better to resort to impartial investigations and to impartial inquiry before making allegations against another State, because allegations of that nature can very often lead to the rise of tensions and to threats to international peace and security.

We say that there must be an investigation, because in March 2000, just as President Clinton was visiting India, 35 Sikh villagers were massacred in Kashmir. The New Delhi Government blamed — guess who. But at the time, there was an inquiry conducted by two independent organizations, called Movement Against State Repression and the Punjab Human Rights Organization, and, after a thorough investigation, both of them concluded that it was Indian forces that had carried out the massacre. A separate investigation conducted by an international human rights organization came to the same conclusion.

India seeks to portray the Kashmiri movement as a terrorist movement in order to delegitimize the struggle for freedom and self-determination. That is the central and core reality in Kashmir. Therefore, Pakistan has asked that this latest massacre should be investigated. We have suggested that the investigation could be carried out by non-governmental organizations such as Amnesty International. Today, since my colleague from India has raised this matter in the Security Council, I should like to ask him if he would be prepared to accept an independent United Nations inquiry into this incident. I hope he will respond positively. If India is convinced that external forces are responsible for such acts of terrorism, let it say yes. Pakistan is prepared for such an investigation. We know that our hands are clean, our conscience is clear and our cause — for the sake of the freedom of Kashmir — is just.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): There are no further speakers left on my list.

After consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

> "The Security Council welcomes the briefing by the Chairman of the Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC) on the work of the Committee.
>
> "The Security Council recalls the statement of its President of 8 October 2002 (S/PRST/2002/26), which recorded its intention to review the structure and activities of the CTC no later than 4 April 2003. The Council thanks Ambassador Greenstock (United Kingdom) for

his chairmanship of the CTC during the first 18 months of its work, and confirms the appointment of Ambassador Arias (Spain) as the new Chairman. The Council confirms the continuation in office of Ambassador Gaspar Martins (Angola), Ambassador Aguilar Zinser (Mexico) and Ambassador Lavrov (Russian Federation) as Vice-Chairmen of the Committee.

"The Council invites the CTC to pursue its agenda as set out in the work programme for the CTC's seventh 90-day period (S/2003/387).

"The Council notes that three States have not yet submitted a report to the CTC, and that 51 Member States are late in submitting a further report, in contravention of the requirements set out by resolution 1373 (2001). It calls on them urgently to do so, in order to maintain the universality of response which resolution 1373 (2001) requires.

"The Security Council invites the CTC to continue reporting on its activities at regular intervals and expresses its intention to review the structure and activities of the CTC no later than 4 October 2003."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/2003/3.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 5.45 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.4735

Security Council

Fifty-eighth year

Provisional

4735th meeting

Friday, 4 April 2003, 5.45 p.m.

New York

President	Mr. Aguilar Zinser	(Mexico)
Members	Angola	Mr. Gaspar Martins
	Bulgaria	Mr. Vassilev
	Cameroon	Mr. Tidjani
	Chile	Mr. Maquieira
	China	Mr. Wang Donghua
	France	Mr. Florent
	Germany	Mr. Haupt
	Guinea	Mr. Doumbouya
	Pakistan	Mr. Akram
	Russian Federation	Mr. Karev
	Spain	Mr. Quintero
	Syrian Arab Republic	Mr. Mekdad
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Ms. Clunes
	United States of America	Mr. Rostow

Agenda

The situation in Timor-Leste

Special report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor (S/2003/243)

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.

03-30896 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 5.45 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Timor-Leste

Special report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor (S/2003/243)

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Timor-Leste, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Guterres (Timor-Leste) took a seat at the Council table.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the Special report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor, document S/2003/243.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/2003/401, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to a letter dated 3 April 2003 from the United Kingdom addressed to the President of the Security Council, which has been issued as document S/2003/379.

It is my understanding that the Security Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution (S/2003/401) before it. If I hear no objection, I shall now put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Angola, Bulgaria, Cameroon, Chile, China, France, Germany, Guinea, Mexico, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Spain, Syrian Arab Republic, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1473 (2003).

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 5.50 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.4736

Security Council

Fifty-eighth year

Provisional

4736th meeting

Monday, 7 April 2003, 3 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Aguilar Zinser	(Mexico)
Members:	Angola	Mr. Gaspar Martins
	Bulgaria	Mr. Tafrov
	Cameroon	Mr. Belinga-Eboutou
	Chile	Mr. Valdés
	China	Mr. Zhang Yishan
	France	Mr. Duclos
	Germany	Mr. Schumacher
	Guinea	Mr. Boubacar Diallo
	Pakistan	Mr. Akram
	Russian Federation	Mr. Smirnov
	Spain	Ms. Menéndez
	Syrian Arab Republic	Mr. Mekdad
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Jeremy Greenstock
	United States of America	Mr. Cunningham

Agenda

Africa's food crisis as a threat to peace and security

Briefing by Mr. James Morris, Executive Director of the World Food Programme

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.

03-31119 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 3.20 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Africa's food crisis as a threat to peace and security

Briefing by Mr. James Morris, Executive Director of the World Food Programme

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, and in the absence of objection, I shall take it that the Security Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. James Morris, Executive Director of the World Food Programme.

It is so decided.

I invite the Executive Director of the World Food Programme, Mr. James Morris, to take a seat at the Council table.

On behalf of the Council, I extend a warm welcome to the Executive Director of the World Food Programme.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

At this meeting, the Security Council will hear a briefing by the Executive Director of the World Food Programme, Mr. James Morris. After the briefing, I will give the floor to those members who wish to address questions to Mr. Morris.

I now give the floor to Mr. Morris.

Mr. Morris: I thank you very much, Sir, for the distinct privilege, pleasure and honour of being with you today on behalf of the World Food Programme.

The purpose of my visit is to talk about Africa, probably with a focus on Southern Africa, but, like all members of the Council, the World Food Programme is very focused on issues in Iraq. We have had a presence in Iraq since 1991 and have been a major implementer of the oil for food programme since late 1995. I would be pleased to entertain members' questions or comments about the work of the World Food Programme in Iraq after I conclude my opening statement.

Our work in Iraq focuses on the potential of having to feed 27 million people in that country at a cost of $1.3 billion for a period of six months. It is interesting that my assignment today is to talk about Africa, where nearly 200 million people are malnourished and 50 million are severely at risk, especially women and children. People in Iraq have had a generous Government food supply. I can tell the Council today that most people in Iraq have food in their households for the next month. It is ironic that, if people in parts of Africa had a month's worth of food in supply in their homes, they would be overwhelmed. In fact, we have a bit of a double standard in the world. How is it that we routinely accept a level of suffering and hopelessness in Africa that we would never accept in any other part of the world? My view is that we simply cannot let this stand.

The causes of Africa's food crises remain much as I described them in December — a lethal combination of recurring droughts; difficult, failed economic policies; hostility and conflict; and the extraordinary, almost unquantifiable impact of HIV/AIDS. The World Food Programme will have a budget in Africa this year of $1.8 billion. May I tell you that this equals the entire budget of the World Food Programme worldwide in 2002.

Worldwide, global food-aid commitments have dropped precipitously over the last 10 years, from 15 million metric tons in 1999 to less than 10 million last year. The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) would tell us that chronic hunger is actually rising in the developing world outside China and the World Health Organization would tell us that hunger is still the greatest factor in poor health in the world.

There is good news. Secretary-General Kofi Annan has placed the issue of African hunger at the top of his agenda. Secondly, France and the United States are working together, within the framework of the G8, to focus the world on the African food crises. President Chirac will put this issue at the top of the agenda at the G8 meeting in Evian in June and President Bush has announced the creation of a new $200 million fund to prevent famine in Africa.

In Southern Africa, and to a lesser degree in the Horn of Africa, the impact of AIDS on the political and economic structure grows daily. In January, I returned to the region along with Stephen Lewis, who is the Secretary-General's Special Envoy for HIV/AIDS in Africa. We were struck by the impact the disease was having on both governance and the food sector, and on how the two were intertwined. Much of Africa's political and technical talent is dying or emigrating — a huge depletion of African human resources. More than 7 million African farmers have lost their lives to HIV/AIDS. The peak impact of HIV/AIDS in Africa will not be felt until 2005-2007.

How do you turn around food production in countries that no longer have a viable agricultural extension service? How do rural children learn to farm when their parents are too sick to teach them? How do you maintain a basic educational system for children when their teachers are dying faster than new ones can be trained?

In a conversation with the President of Zambia that I will never forget, he said, "Jim, the most important thing you can do for the people of Zambia is to help us train teachers. Last year we lost 2,000 teachers to death by HIV/AIDS in Zambia, and we were only able to replace half of them".

The good news is that because of the generosity of many countries and the work of the World Food Programme (WFP), our non-governmental organization partners and other important United Nations agencies, we were able to deliver more than 620,000 tons of food in the region to more than 10 million people, and serious death and starvation were avoided.

The issue of genetically modified (GM) food has faded and is no longer delaying or disrupting deliveries. Five of the six countries needing aid in Southern Africa are accepting processed and milled GM food. We simply could not have reached the level of food deliveries we have now attained without the constructive problem-solving undertaken as it relates to the GM issue.

The WFP remains especially concerned about Zimbabwe, where there have been numerous media reports that food assistance is being politicized. We are confident that this is not the case with our food. In the few instances where we have received credible reports of abuse, we suspended those operations. I have met with President Mugabe six times, and we have offered the services of the United Nations to monitor and verify the food being distributed by the Government there, but we have not yet received a positive response. Inflation, Government monopolization of the food sector and the impact of the land redistribution scheme are likely to mean that the food situation will not stabilize any time soon in Zimbabwe.

Our goal is not to politicize but to depoliticize food aid in Zimbabwe. Food should be available to all, based on humanitarian principles, with any other consideration being absolutely inappropriate. That is the case everywhere we work. Hungry people cannot afford to be caught in political crossfire. There are those who would have us pull out in crisis situations to punish Governments and to take a stand on political or human rights issues. But WFP believes that emergency aid simply cannot be politicized, for good or for ill. When people in power, be they Government or rebels, deny food aid to certain vulnerable groups of the population, we will speak out. While we see our role as neutral and much like that of the Red Cross and Red Crescent societies, our member States have also asked us to be advocates for the hungry. That has put us on a tightrope and in a perpetual balancing act. When Governments take economic actions, such as banning private trade or monopolizing food imports, which undermine the food sector and exacerbate hunger, our member States expect us to speak out, and we will.

With respect to the situation in Ethiopia, Eritrea and the Sudan — the Horn of Africa — the numbers of people at risk are comparable to those in Southern Africa. In Southern Africa, a little more than 15 million people are at risk, with half of them in Zimbabwe. More than 11 million people are absolutely at risk of hunger in Ethiopia, with another 3 million on the edge: 20 to 25 per cent of the population.

In Eritrea, the situation is much more difficult. It is a smaller country with a smaller population, but with 2.2 of the 3.3 million people absolutely at risk. The situation is further complicated by the conflict, with a good many members of the military yet to be resituated to their home towns.

Clearly, drought is the major culprit in the Horn of Africa. We have had good response to our needs for Ethiopia but a mediocre response to our work in Eritrea. The interesting thing about Ethiopia is that of all the countries in the world it has the highest per capita emergency support and the lowest per capita

development support. I had the good fortune to be there recently, and I visited communities where a few hundred dollars' worth of food properly used in food-for-work programmes helped communities plan for their future, think about soil and soil erosion and think about the impoundment of water. They planned and prepared, and they will get through this crisis. In the experience, they developed a cadre of community leadership that will serve those communities superbly for a long period of time.

Meanwhile, a few miles away, that kind of preparation — investments in prevention and development — was not made, and they are in a catastrophe. There are probably 10,000 communities in Ethiopia that need this kind of help. We are working in 800 right now.

Food security has also deteriorated in the western Sahel — Mauritania, Cape Verde, the Gambia, Senegal and Mali — with approximately a million people at risk. We are grateful to many member countries for the investments that they have made in our early warning food response systems. We were not prepared for the problem in Ethiopia of 15 years ago. With the new early response systems, assessment systems and surveillance systems, we are now much better prepared to respond.

The issues in Angola, also in Southern Africa, are a bit different, coming out of 30 to 40 years of conflict and armed violence. The good news is that there is peace on the ground. Food is critical to the recovery of the Angolan economy and to maintaining the peace. It was our initial intent to feed about a million people in Angola. Today, we are feeding 1.8 million people. By June, the number will be 2.2 million people. Angola is a wealthy country that needs, over time, to develop a substantial agricultural system.

With respect to the issue of refugees and internally displaced people, the World Food Programme cooperates with the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. It is our responsibility to provide the food. Today, in Africa, we are feeding 1.8 million refugees and 5.7 million internally displaced people. It is hugely expensive. The turmoil that this can cause if it is not done properly will have enormous effects on the countries where we work. This is a particularly difficult issue in western coastal Africa. Members have all followed the issues in Côte d'Ivoire and Liberia, where there are between 4 million and 5 million refugees — people moving about. The conflict is producing enormous chaos in the region.

There are things that we need to do and things that we can do. The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and WFP have warned that the fate of more than 1.2 million refugees in Africa is uncertain due to the lack of funding for much needed food aid. There are places where we have had to cut rations in half or by 25 per cent. Major interruptions in the food pipeline are feared in Tanzania, Uganda, Kenya, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Algeria and the Sudan: the major nations in Africa that host refugees.

A few weeks ago here at the United Nations, we had a very positive session with the Group of Eight, which the Secretary-General kicked off, in which we talked about what the world needs to do to get the issues in Africa on a firmer foundation. We talked about the fact that Africans themselves will ultimately have to provide the leadership. They will be responsible for their own domestic policies. Global trade issues will have to be resolved in such a way that they do not become such a huge disincentive for agricultural production and export in places in Africa.

The specific points that we left with the group on that occasion are as follows.

First, we need a far stronger donor commitment to emergency food aid based on better targeting and more sophisticated early-warning systems. The World Food Programme is funded entirely with voluntary contributions from countries. We receive no core funding from the United Nations. We are the largest humanitarian agency in the world, and our annual budget is larger than the United Nations budget for its New York City operation. We receive 90 per cent of our support from nine countries plus the European Community. There are two dozen more countries that now have the capability to help us, and there are many countries that now have agricultural surpluses that can help us by providing commodity but that do not have the cash to pay for transportation.

We have looked for ways to twin countries that have cash with countries that have commodities, and we will see how we can make that work. The leverage is enormous. India has committed a million metric tons of wheat for Afghanistan in part for us to produce high-energy biscuits for a million school children in

Afghanistan. We need help from countries that can help with the transportation of the wheat biscuits that are produced in India. We have had good support for the first time ever from the Russian Federation. We are working hard to bring new partners into our programme.

Secondly, there is a need for a substantial increase in support for investment in basic agricultural infrastructure, both micro and macro, especially irrigation infrastructure, but also roads and markets. There is a need to make agricultural work easier on women. Women do 80 per cent of the agricultural work in Africa. Women now are 58 per cent of those infected with HIV/AIDS in Africa. They are expected to produce the food and to serve the food. They are expected to give care to so many people who are critically ill in their homes or regions. The world needs to focus on making agricultural production easier for women in Africa.

I had a good visit with the Minister of Agriculture of Malawi. He said, "Jim, the most important thing the world could do for us would be to invest about $77 million in an irrigation system that would serve Malawi countrywide." Malawi is a country with huge lakes and huge water resources, and a properly constructed irrigation system would address its agricultural issues in a very substantial way. The Secretary-General's call for a green revolution in Africa is one of the most important statements to be made recently.

Thirdly, we propose funding of a $300 million African food emergency fund that would be an immediate response account that can be used at the very outset of a food crisis. Our emergency response account now has $35 million, and our experience suggests that those dollars that are available to invest immediately when there is a crisis on the horizon are those that allow families to keep their farms together and to not sell their coping mechanisms; a little help at the beginning is worth a lot of help later on in the process.

I should also say that in the crisis in Southern Africa, we were very successful in raising cash and commodities to meet the food requirements. We were not very successful in raising the resources for non-food items. Water and sanitation, health, medicine, vaccination and educational issues are every bit as important as food, and somehow the donor community — and as head of WFP I am grateful for this — finds it easier to focus on food and more difficult to focus on other issues. Investments made in farm implements, seed and fertilizer have enormous leverage and help to put people back on their feet. I would encourage members to take a look at those kinds of issues.

I mentioned the issue of non-traditional donors.

Finally, let me say that the piece of our work that I consider to be maybe the most important is our work with school feeding. There are 300 million hungry children in the world. If we take the Millennium Development Goal of cutting hunger and poverty in half by 2015 seriously — there are 800 million hungry people in the world, nearly 40 per cent of them children; half of the children do not go to school, and most of those are girls — the single most important investment we can make is in educating children. Educated children become better citizens, better teachers, better parents and better farmers. Whatever one chooses to do with one's life, a person's education directly affects the quality of life and the quality of the community.

We know how to feed a child in school for about $35 per year. For less than $1 per year, we can have extraordinary health interventions led by the World Health Organization (WHO) that reduce worms and all sorts of other serious health issues. We fed 16 million children last year; we need to feed 100 million worldwide and we need to feed another 50 million in Africa. This will be the single best investment, with great leverage, that we can make worldwide in beginning to turn the future of Africa around.

I am more grateful than I could ever express to the many countries that have helped us. Last week I had the most remarkable phone call from Canada. Canada committed $75 million over the next three years to feed school children. I just had a terrific visit in Switzerland, and Switzerland committed to feed an additional 10,000 school children. We are working hard to engage the private sector with our work. A magnificent Dutch company — TPG — with 150,000 employees committed each one of its employees to feed a school child. If we are thoughtful and resourceful about this and cover a wide range of territory, we will have the opportunity to change the world by feeding school children.

I want to underline the critical importance of peacekeeping and diplomacy. War and conflict, in

Africa as elsewhere, quickly lead to hunger. People who are hungry and without food have risky behaviours and tend to be more aggressive. War and conflict cut productivity, increase HIV/AIDS, increase populations of refugees and internally displaced persons and dramatically affect children. War changes the focus of the way countries do their business. There is no doubt that in much of Africa hunger and poverty are fuelling conflict and robbing Africans of the bright future they deserve. Their suffering cannot be any less to us than the suffering we see elsewhere in the world today. We all must do more to help.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): I thank the Executive Director of the World Food Programme for his timely and very relevant briefing on a problem that directly affects a very large population.

I wish to remind the members of the Council that we have a very long list of subjects to address this afternoon and that we would like to take full advantage of Mr. Morris' presence. Therefore, I request members of the Council to limit questions and comments to strictly necessary ones so that this can be an interactive information meeting, rather than a meeting of statements.

Mr. Cunningham (United States of America): My thanks go to Mr. Morris. That was really a superb presentation on this very, very difficult situation. I want to thank him also for his hard work and his organization's hard work in trying to deal with it.

Unfortunately, Mr. Morris has outlined the elements of an emergency that force us to deal with the short term and with chronic cases. In his comments he pointed to many of the other elements that make this even more intractable: man-made complications, the politicization of food, the effects of war. We join Mr. Morris in opposing food being used as a weapon, and we are particularly alarmed at the impact of HIV/AIDS, for many of the reasons he described.

What I wanted to ask Mr. Morris is, given all this, what has been his most recent message to donors on the crisis? What have the responses been and what does he assess to be the unmet needs still before us in 2003?

Mr. Belinga-Eboutou (Cameroon) (*spoke in French*): I would like to say how very pleased we are to have Mr. James Morris, Executive Director of the World Food Programme (WFP), here with us. He has spoken to us about an extremely difficult and relevant issue: the food crisis in Africa, which poses a threat to international peace and security.

We have heard to some extent a repetition of w we were told last December regarding the ma obstacles to the activities of the WFP: weat conditions, health/sanitation conditions, HIV/AIDS those that could also be considered as man-made, s as civil disorder, conflict and problems of governanc

The question I would like to ask Mr. Morris response to your appeal, Mr. President, to get strai to the heart of the matter — is the following. mandate of the WFP was expanded in 1999 to make Programme an instrument for development. In f WFP was called on to use food assistance, essentia and as a priority, to support economic and so development actions. This was the primary objecti The other objectives relate to so-called emerge situations where there is a need to cope with immediate needs of refugees and of populations have fallen victim to humanitarian crises.

At present, the emergency functions objectives seem to be, in fact, highly pivotal to w the WFP is doing. What about the essential funct aimed at preventing emergency situations, namely, use of food assistance to support development actio That is my question to the Executive Director; it re to WFP's new mandate. We pay tribute to WFP's wo which is so beneficial in emergency situatio including today in Iraq. But that does not prevent from going back to the crux of the mandate, which i support development action to prevent emerge situations.

Mr. Valdés (Chile) (*spoke in Spanish*): I th Mr. Morris for his briefing and for the valua information he has given to the Council today.

As previous speakers have mentioned, one only be powerfully struck by the dimensions of task, by the severity of the crisis and by the difficul faced by the World Food Programme (WFP) in try to cope with situations, such as that of Ethiopia Eritrea, whose urgency Mr. Morris has described. I Ambassador Cunningham, we wonder how the W can today face an emergency affecting 11 mill inhabitants without being certain — or at least, we not certain — about wha the actual donations expec from member countries would be? So my first quest would be along the same lines as that raised Ambassador Cunningham: given a situation such

Ethiopia and Eritrea, what assistance can we expect to receive in order to tackle the magnitude of the crisis?

Secondly, it is clear that when it is said that chronic hunger is growing in the developing world and that hunger in the world is still the main reason for medical emergencies or shortcomings, we are dealing with questions concerning the system. As the representative of Cameroon said, we are facing problems which have to do with development policies and how we address them. The United Nations has a toolbox for this. For decades, we have developed bodies within the United Nations whose function it is to assess the situation in developing countries and to try to provide, particularly through the Economic and Social Council, responses that relate to how the international system can tackle these questions. I would like to ask Mr. Morris if he has any further thoughts about this.

Lastly, while entirely aware of the seriousness of the situation in Africa, Mr. Morris explained at the beginning of his speech the tasks that the WFP is undertaking in Iraq. I would like to raise the possibility that we hold another meeting in which Mr. Morris could directly address that issue.

Mr. Schumacher (Germany): I thank Mr. Morris very much for a superb presentation and, in particular, for his continuous efforts to brief the Council. I would like to challenge somewhat one of the initial observations that he made in saying that we routinely accept a situation in Africa that we would not otherwise accept in other parts of the world. Are we really routinely accepting such a situation in Africa? Is it not more something like, may I say, donor fatigue?

I recall correctly that some 10 years ago, there was another serious food crisis in Southern Africa, and the international community responded very efficiently to the call of the WFP and others to cope with that crisis. Now, we are again faced with the same situation.

Mr. Morris mentioned that there are two intertwined problems — the scourge of HIV/AIDS and the food crisis — and he and others have vaguely referred to man-made problems. Are there not three intertwined elements that create the deadly brew that makes it almost impossible to cope with these sorts of problems worldwide? Is not the combination of bad governance, HIV/AIDS and the food crisis the problem that we are facing today?

In that context, my question is the following. Would Mr. Morris agree that, without a sound approach to the establishment of good governance worldwide, any isolated effort to come to grips with HIV/AIDS or the food crisis would remain a piecemeal approach? I should like to recall that good governance is an important element and an important objective in the Millennium Declaration, which was adopted by our heads of State three years ago. Unfortunately, it does not fall under the heading of "Millennium Development Goals". I very much hope that, when Millennium Development Goals are mentioned in future discussions of this issue as a justified appeal to donors to help us cope with these problems, this third element of good governance also becomes an important objective.

Mr. Akram (Pakistan): My delegation would like to join others in expressing our appreciation to Mr. James Morris for his excellent and comprehensive briefing. We are aware of the outstanding work that the World Food Programme has performed in so many crises — including in a neighbouring country, Afghanistan — and we have a very high regard for that organization.

In the context of the presentation that we heard this afternoon, the central issue for us to explore is the specific link between the food crisis in Africa and the threat to peace and security. I would be very interested to know whether Mr. Morris has any thoughts about exactly how that relationship exists — whether it exists in a negative way and possibly could be established in a positive way.

Mr. Morris has said that our goal is not to politicize food aid but to depoliticize it — in Zimbabwe, for example — and that food should be available to all on the basis of humanitarian principles. I think that is absolutely correct as far as it goes. But, for example, could we use the provision of food assistance — food security — as an incentive for conflict resolution in some of the crises faced in Africa and perhaps elsewhere? Without politicizing and without depriving people of humanitarian needs, could the provision not only of food aid but also of agricultural assistance, development and technical support be utilized as elements of conflict resolution in Africa and elsewhere?

Secondly, I should like to pose perhaps a more immediate question to Mr. Morris. There is a looming drought and a conflict between Ethiopia and Eritrea in the Horn of Africa. How does he think the drought has exacerbated the conflict or has acted to the contrary? I believe that the food aid received by Ethiopia is perhaps more generous than that received by Eritrea. Are there any reasons for that, and, if so, are they related to the conflict that is under way? Those are some thoughts that arise from the briefing.

Finally, I should like to say that I support the proposal of my colleague Ambassador Valdés that the Security Council receive a similar briefing with regard to the situation in Iraq.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): I should now like to give Mr. Morris the opportunity to respond to the questions raised. That will allow Council members who wish to pose questions that Mr. Morris has already answered to skip those questions and focus on the responses that he will now give us. I call on Mr. Morris.

Mr. Morris: In response to the question from the representative of the United States — and I thank the United States; it should be said that in 2001 the United States provided more than 60 per cent of the humanitarian assistance for the World Food Programme — the most recent message that we have been trying to convey as it relates to Southern Africa — and, by the way, I agree completely with the representative of Germany's comment about leadership and governance; they are pivotal and basic to everything — we are overwhelmed with the issue of children. There are 11 million AIDS orphans in sub-Saharan Africa. Zimbabwe has 780,000 orphans; Malawi and Zambia have somewhere between 400,000 and 500,000 orphans. Half the families are headed by someone older than 65, and it is not uncommon to see a family of five children headed by a little girl 14 years of age who is the same size as my 7-year-old granddaughter. The world's responsibility for these children is enormous in terms of their education, their food and their health.

That has also had the most devastating impact on the human resource structure of Governments and institutions. I mentioned the loss of teachers and the depletion and loss of human resources. We are at a point where we are talking about replenishing systems. Essentially, the medical personnel in Southern Africa — the doctors, nurses and pharmacists — are gone. The talent that will be necessary to address these issues is enormous. So we must focus on children and on human resource talent. The HIV/AIDS issue is enormous. More than half a million people died in those six countries last year as a result of HIV/AIDS. 30 million people are infected in Africa, up 3.5 per cent from last year; and 34 per cent of the adult population in Zimbabwe is affected by HIV/AIDS, with comparable numbers elsewhere in that part of the world.

We have been focusing on the importance of agricultural investment both in a micro sense and in a macro sense, and on the importance of broadening the donor base. Everyone in the world has the primary responsibility to look after his or her own, but we all have some responsibility for those elsewhere who are worse off than we are. We are working very hard at growing our donor base. We will need 3.8 million metric tons of food to do our work in Africa this year; we will need $1.8 billion, plus the $300 million that was carried over from last year.

Eight of our 10 top donors increased their support for the World Food Programme dramatically last year. We need to keep that support growing. We need new donors, and we need help from the private sector.

With regard to the question from Cameroon — we have a regional office in Yaoundé; Cameroon has been a great friend — 10 years ago, 80 per cent of our support was for development. Today, 80 per cent of our support is for emergency relief. I do not know what has happened in the world — I am not a scientist. But working with the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, we are conducting three times as many natural disaster assessments today as we did in 1965, and twice as many as in 1990.

There has been a change. There are presumably limited resources, and the resources have gone to keep people alive and to reduce human suffering in an emergency context. In emergencies we try as much as possible to ensure that our work has long-term development implications. If we feed a child and encourage that child to go to school, that is development. If we feed a child and enhance the nutritional content of the food with iodine, vitamin or iron, that is development in a human resource for that country for a long period of time. Some of our most important investments are in food-for-work

programmes, whereby we make resources available to feed people if they participate in the rebuilding of a community's infrastructure. In that way the community wins and the family wins.

We are very troubled by the fact that today only 20 per cent of our resources are aimed at long-term development — at prevention. That is a huge problem in a place like Ethiopia; it is a huge problem around the world.

Our colleague from Chile asked a question about assistance required for Ethiopia and Eritrea. It has been our plan to feed about 40 per cent of the hungry people in Ethiopia, with the rest being handled by the Government, by non-governmental organizations or bilaterally. We have been raising something in the neighbourhood of $205 million there. We are doing a good job — we have raised about 70 per cent of what we need. The issue in Eritrea is much more difficult. We looked to raise more than $100 million, but the response has been less than 20 per cent. We work very well with the Government of Ethiopia.

With regard to the question raised by the representative of Pakistan about the conflict, my sense is that there are 900,000 soldiers still in the Eritrean army who are being repatriated. Not having that manpower available for agricultural work has been a huge factor in the problem in Eritrea. So I think that the conflict has exacerbated the problem — there is no question about that.

Investments in early warning systems, in assessment systems and in surveillance systems for agriculture and health are incredibly important. That gets to the issue of knowing what is likely to happen as soon as possible and being prepared for it. We need to make more investments in doing that better. The technology is there. In analysing what the problems are, historically we have looked only at food issues. But as we do our assessments today and analyse the severity of a problem, we need to look at other issues, too.

I agree completely with my colleague from Germany. The issue of governance and leadership is a prime responsibility. Some countries, such as Zimbabwe, are having very difficult problems right now. I am a little more optimistic about the agricultural situation of Malawi and Zambia this year — likewise Mozambique, Lesotho and Swaziland. But the number of people at risk in Zimbabwe has increased, and agricultural production has not increased. Foreign exchange, which would allow for imports, is not available. The private sector does not function there. The donor community does function there. Those are issues that will require enormous leadership if the situation is to be turned around.

The question from Pakistan about tying peace and security to food issues was absolutely on target. There is no question in my mind that hungry people behave differently from people who are not hungry. When people are fed and begin to learn they have hope and opportunity in their lives, and lives with hope, opportunity and a future are less likely to be violent. Clearly, we have talked about the issue of refugees and internally displaced persons. We have used food to some degree in conflict resolution in Angola and Sierra Leone. We have offered food as an incentive for people to lay down their weapons, and that has worked pretty well. Beyond that, this is an issue that I think we would be interested in thinking a little more about. We try to stay focused on the humanitarian agenda — the world does not want people to starve. We are especially concerned about the very vulnerable people at risk, including women and children. We try to absent ourselves from all of the other political debates going on. But the representative of Pakistan raised a question worth considering.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): I thank Mr. Morris for his answers.

Mr. Tafrov (Bulgaria) (*spoke in French*): I would like briefly to make two comments and to ask Mr. Morris a question. First, I would like to thank him for his eloquent statement, which I believe will prompt us to reflect further on what actions the Security Council can take.

That leads me to my second comment. I would like to thank you in particular, Mr. President, for having included today's meeting on our programme. We now realize that the food situation in Southern Africa and elsewhere in the continent has direct implications for the security of Africa, while security — or, rather, insecurity — has negative implications for the food situation.

From that perspective, I believe that it is extremely important for the Council in future to have the knowledge and the capacity necessary to enable it to integrate information and other factors relating to food security into its approach to conflict in Africa. In

that regard, I wholeheartedly support the proposal of Ambassador Valdés. I believe that the Council should go even further; we should not be timid or worry about going beyond our area of competence.

My question to Mr. Morris relates to Somalia. He referred to the Horn of Africa. The question of Somalia is on the Council's agenda; that country is experiencing severe problems. What is the situation regarding food security in that country in the Horn of Africa? What is the attitude of the donor countries and of donors in general towards Somalia?

Sir Jeremy Greenstock (United Kingdom): I share colleagues' feelings on the importance of this briefing this afternoon and on the terrific role which the World Food Programme (WFP) is playing. I would like the Council's praise for that to go to the whole team led by Mr. Morris. It is a huge team effort — one of the most impressive United Nations agency performances of all.

I want to home back in on why we are here in the Security Council, listening to this briefing. I want to put the question to Mr. Morris as to what he expects from the Security Council on this. He is saying that, increasingly, WFP is looking at symptoms, not causes, and dealing with the outflow of misery from hunger and other related problems. That means, as he says, that the Programme is looking at more than food issues and increasingly less able — I take this as implicit in what he is saying — to deal with the causes of what is happening.

And yet, the causes are, as I gather from his report, as much structural as they are emergency, or due to bad luck or bad climate. Therefore, the United Nations system should be doing something about those structural causes, as well as addressing the misery that comes out of the lack of food and health worldwide. Yes, it is production policy and the arrangements for food production; yes, it is always never enough donor activity; yes, we could do with twice as much money and twice as many agencies doing it all; but it also has to do with the interplay with health problems, particularly HIV/AIDS; with peace and security on the ground; with governance; and with long-term problems and short-term problems.

We can go on analysing, and Mr. Morris's oral and written statements do that; but in the written version, the seven proposals, as well as the six he mentioned orally at the end of his presentation, are not really the responsibility of the Security Council, as such. They are a responsibility of the United Nations family, the donor countries and the Governments on the ground. Yet, Mr. Morris ended by saying how critically important the peacekeeping and diplomatic aspects are.

I would like him, perhaps, to give examples of what the Security Council could actually do. There are three things in my mind. One is, of course, conflict resolution. He has pointed to Angola and Sierra Leone as having got better; Ethiopia/Eritrea as not yet better enough; and perhaps Côte d'Ivoire and other places getting worse. Liberia is still a problem and other parts where there are rebellions and wars are still difficult.

Secondly, there is the problem of politicization and of governance. Perhaps that, too, is an area where the Security Council can play a role.

The third area — one we have not really talked about yet, but one we ought to discuss among ourselves and with our sister organizations — is coordination. If, behind this picture of starvation and misery, there is not just climate, agricultural policy and what is happening on the ground in the agricultural area, but also health and governance and wars and all sorts of other things, should not the interplay between WFP and the Security Council be looking at the coordination of the response? It is not all our business to get into these areas, but it is our business to do part of it and therefore to work with others in doing all of it. Does he not see a crying need for better coordination within the international and the United Nations systems, much of which may come back to the governance problem?

Mr. Morris mentioned Zimbabwe because it is the one area of Southern Africa which is getting so much worse than the others. He did not say "unnecessarily", but he did not point to a climatic or a coincidental reason. There are things there that, from a human perspective, could go better; ditto in some other parts of Africa, where the right policies could make this immediately better. To what extent does Mr. Morris believe that the Security Council is making a difference? Since he only has a few further minutes left with us today, what would he like us specifically to do, until he comes back to talk to us about it again, to make what he sees, from the WFP viewpoint, start improving, rather than continue to go worse?

Ms. Menéndez (Spain) (*spoke in Spanish*): I should like to thank you first of all, Sir, for having organized this interesting meeting, which we deem to

be very important. I should also like to thank Mr. Morris for his very interesting briefing, which was concise but very instructive. Mr. Morris gave us information that was very graphic and stark. We see the reality of the problem very clearly.

We have two questions. The first is perhaps connected to what Ambassador Greenstock just said, but we wish to ask more specifically: Have we effectively learned the lessons from success stories and from less successful stories of the past, in cases where famine in Africa has been averted and where it has not? Can the World Food Programme (WFP) tell us what the Security Council has done, if anything, in those cases, and what such action might entail in the future?

My second question concerns a concept that Mr. Morris included in his briefing and which he spoke about in passing in his first series of answers to our questions. This is the concept of replenishment. He said that it is currently very difficult to have a capacity-building policy when, for example, parents have died or are ill and cannot pass their knowledge in the agricultural sphere on to their children. Has WFP, singly or in cooperation with other agencies, considered the idea of capacity-replenishment, which Mr. Morris, I believe, mentioned earlier?

Mr. Duclos (France) (*spoke in French*): Allow me in turn to convey our gratitude to Mr. Morris for his extremely interesting statement, which I believe both contained highly significant data and figures and communicated a sense of the human experience.

We, too, attach the greatest of importance to the question of the food crisis in Africa. As Mr. Morris said, we hope to take advantage of our leadership of the G8 in order to place this issue at the top of its agenda.

With respect to Mr. Morris's briefing, I think we were all struck by the magnitude of the crisis and by everything he had to say regarding the interaction of various factors that contribute to and further exacerbate the crisis. Many questions raised by my colleagues here addressed in one form or another the factors contributing to the food crisis.

I was struck by the fact that Mr. Morris spoke a great deal of Southern Africa. Southern Africa is perhaps the region that combines the most worrisome factors of the current food situation in Africa. Perhaps that is because it is a region that is not prepared — or is less prepared than others — for large-scale famines and because it is there that the phenomenon of the ravages of AIDS is most glaring, to the extent that perhaps it is the region that most urgently causes us to ask whether the current number of deaths will compromise life in the future and the capacity of those societies to recover for the future.

Mr. Morris said that he wanted to concentrate on the humanitarian aspect of the question of food. Therefore we should not ask him too much about the overall strategy or related issues. However, all the questions we have asked naturally touch somewhat on the issue of whether, in these particularly terrible situations, it is necessary to reconsider the international community's overall strategy with respect to those societies? It is a question that cannot be resolved with a few minutes' discussion.

However, in that context, I would like to ask a more specific question: on the basis of his experience, does Mr. Morris consider, for example, in Southern Africa — which it seemed to me was the most striking and illustrative case — is all the necessary coordination among the principal actors of the international community actually in place, or is there a need further to unite our energies to deal with this problem from the various angles he himself has mentioned? I thank Mr. Morris for his attention.

I might add that I, too, would be interested in a later briefing by Mr. Morris on Iraq. But I, too, would like him to giv us some preliminary information this afternoon, as he proposed earlier.

Mr. Boubacar Diallo (Guinea) (*spoke in French*): I would like to join preceding speakers in expressing my delegation's full appreciation to Mr. James Morris for his very rich and instructive briefing on the food crisis in Africa. The last time Mr. Morris spoke to the Council on this issue was on 3 December 2002. The briefing that he has just given leads to the general impression that the picture is far from rosy. Rather, it is the opposite. The food situation in Africa is becoming increasingly alarming due, as he said, to several causes that vary from one area to another and from one country to another.

My question relates to the approach that must be adopted to solve the food crisis in Africa. Is there coordination among the various actors involved in the fight for food security in Africa? If there is, how does

it function? If there is not, could a viable mechanism be put in place to make this fight more effective?

Mr. Mekdad (Syrian Arab Republic) (*spoke in Arabic*): I would like to join preceding speakers in welcoming Mr. Morris and to express my satisfaction at his very informative briefing. This is one of the most urgent and important of issues and is one to which the Security Council has not devoted enough time. As Ambassador Greenstock mentioned, there are certain limits to the responsibilities of the Security Council. This issue relates to the responsibility of States and, as Ambassador Schumacher of Germany said, to good governance. However, despite those limitations, I think that this issue is very important. It deserves further consideration so that we can clarify the role that the Council could play in resolving this important problem.

At the start of his presentation, Mr. Morris mentioned the timely issue of Iraq. We are closely watching the role played by the World Food Programme (WFP) within the framework of the oil-for-food programme. I think that it has played a very constructive role. I believe Mr. Morris will agree with me when I say that the situation has changed since the war in Iraq began. We believe that there is a new role for the WFP and humanitarian agencies to play, which would be separate from the role of the oil-for-food programme. That is because the oil-for-food programme was limited to meeting the needs of the Iraqi people during a specific period of time and in a very specific situation. But now, everything has changed. There is a war. That war must be governed by the Geneva Conventions, in particular the Fourth Geneva Convention. We believe that we should not use the Iraqi people's own funds to assist them. We should not take money from their pockets in order to feed them. International funds have to be used. Does the WFP now have the necessary funds to meet the new needs created by the war?

Mr. Gaspar Martins (Angola): I too would like to thank Mr. Morris for coming here. It is not an accident that he is coming to the Security Council. One might ask why. Mr. Morris deals with food; the Security Council deals with peace and security. Yet, it is important that he has come here. I think the link was established also by what Ambassador Greenstock touched on.

I think that at one point in Mr. Morris's presentation, he said that what Africa needs is a green revolution, meaning the opposite of the type of revolutions that we have been seeing, which are, perhaps, red revolutions — we see a lot of blood. We need to change that. Very often, the inadequacy of food supplies, famine and the drastic situations that exist in quite a number of places create conditions conducive to disturbances.

Let me raise a question. I too have noted a point that Mr. Morris mentioned: 80 per cent of the resources of the World Food Programme are devoted to emergency situations — in other words, food distribution. Only 20 per cent is devoted to development, meaning food production or addressing other conditions. Something that was mentioned was the question of perhaps investing in more early warning systems, which are needed to prevent some of the food crisis situations. My question is, how is this trend changing? How is Mr. Morris's thinking evolving towards a situation where we are looking more at food production and investing more in resources for development to create the conditions for food production, rather than at dealing with emergencies. Granted, there are situations that are emergencies. But in some of these situations — some of them have been mentioned, and one of them is in my country — we will go from crisis situations to post-conflict situations, and the 80 per cent that we are talking about will probably be reduced.

In what direction are we moving? In other words, are we moving in the direction of investing more in development and less elsewhere, in order to do what Mr. Morris mentioned in terms of the green revolution he spoke of?

Mr. Zhang Yishan (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): I listened very attentively to the detailed and informative briefing of Mr. Morris. It has been very helpful in providing us with a better understanding of the food situation in Africa. However, it must be acknowledged that the picture he presented to us, in which 40 million people lack food and face malnutrition, is very grave. Without the strenuous efforts of Mr. Morris and his colleagues, the situation today would be ever more grim and terrifying.

We have a saying in China: if you give a fish to a person, he or she can merely eat it as a meal. But if you teach a person to fish, then he or she will benefit from that for life and will live in comfort. Therefore, it is obvious that, in addition to providing aid, a better approach to eliminating poverty and the lack of food is to teach people to fish.

I seek clarification about whether or not the WFP works with other international organizations to increase capacity for self-reliance, so that emergency aid can produce better results.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): I wish to make a comment and to ask a question in my capacity as the representative of Mexico.

As Mr. Morris has starkly shown, the food situation in Southern Africa and in other parts of Africa clearly leaves us perplexed in the light of a commitment that the international community still has not managed to fully meet. But food security, which is a moral imperative and a colossal challenge, is also an issue that must be resolved through profound changes in the region.

It is clear that human beings have an inalienable right to a healthy and balanced diet. To that end, an immediate challenge is to increase sustainable food production and, on that basis, make the benefits of that production available to the most vulnerable sectors. In Africa, that must be achieved in a particularly adverse environment, where there is soil degradation, desertification and, as Mr. Morris said, recurring natural catastrophes, infections, violent conflicts, civil disturbances — the legacy and effects of which are passed from one generation to the next and are evident in matters as simple as the existence of explosives and landmines in agricultural fields — climate change and, no less important, the HIV/AIDS epidemic and other diseases such as malaria and tuberculosis, which also undermine societies' ability to produce.

In these circumstances, and given the cited combination of internal and external factors, the international community has a commitment. Mr. Morris pointed out that $1.8 billion is needed, which seems an extraordinary figure but which is not, if we compare it to today's worldwide military expenditures, which are vastly greater than that figure.

Given all that, I would like to simply underscore Ambassador Greenstock's question. From that point of view and taking all the factors into account, what would Mr. Morris say could be done right now by the Security Council, beyond what has already been established as an immediate task, in terms of donors and in terms of the attention that the Security Council should give this item? What does Mr. Morris think the Security Council should do together with other United Nations bodies to tackle a crisis of the magnitude and dimensions that he has described to us?

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

I call on Mr. Morris.

Mr. Morris: May I say that both rounds of questions have raised profound issues, and that it means a lot to the World Food Programme and our colleagues that Council members have all been so thoughtful about the work we are a part of. Clearly, I am unable to give Council members the answers they deserve this afternoon. As we did last time, we will respond in considerable detail in writing to all the questions; our responses will be available to everyone.

The representative of Bulgaria asked a question about Somalia. The situation in Somalia is very troubled. It is a very, very difficult place to work in, and it is a difficult place to assess the magnitude of the difficulty, given the conflict. We have been there for a long time. It is one of the places where we operate the United Nations humanitarian air service. Our programme this year is to feed nearly 3 million people in the country. We have had good success in the past raising nearly 75 per cent of the resources that we need to do our work there. It has been encouraging, in that it is one of the places where we have a very broad base of support. Nearly 20 countries help us in Somalia.

There was a question from the United Kingdom. May I first express our appreciation to one of Sir Jeremy's colleagues, Anthony Beattie, who is our Executive Board President this year. He has extraordinary competence and effectiveness and is very bright. The question was about structural issues. Clearly, there are structural issues at every level. There are structural issues that affect the family farmer, that affect the marketing operation and that affect the system in which agriculture can survive and thrive. The representative of the United Kingdom raised the question about what the Security Council can do. It is

much the same question as the President raised. First of all, I think what the Council can do is to help put the humanitarian issues — food is one of them, and there are many — at the centre of the world's agenda. Humanitarian issues are security issues. If people are treated in a humane way and have the basic ingredients that lead to a life of hope, opportunity, fulfilment, the realization of potential and civil behaviour, I believe security issues will be mitigated or moderated. So what we are about has an enormous impact on families, on children and on other individuals, saving lives and propping up lives in such a way that people can begin to be productive citizens.

In terms of reducing conflict, what we do is very important. We need to think more about that. I am grateful that Council members are thinking about it; as they communicate with their capitals, this becomes part of the dialogue. Usually, we relate to the Ministry of Agriculture. That is very important. When we relate to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Finance, we are more successful in having a stronger country partner.

On the issue of the politicization of food aid, I think, strong statements on that subject from the most important political body in the world, which this Security Council is, are very powerful and very important. People have to take what Council members say seriously. It is important to make the statement that it is the basic entitlement of a person to be fed if he or she is down and out — without a personal political agenda. There is no more important place in the world for that statement to be made than right here. Food, health and education are at the base of security and at the base of a good life for individuals. We will talk more about this, and we will give members the best answer of which we are capable. It will be a good exercise for my colleagues.

The representative of Spain asked a question about lessons learned. We have learned that we do indeed know how to distribute food. A couple of years ago in Ethiopia, before I was there, we did a terrific job in getting food distributed so that people did not die. We knew how to do that. We are learning how to use food as a tool for prevention and investment and development. We know how to do that. We know how important small neighbourhood groups are to getting the job done and how important remarkable community leaders are. We have also learned how difficult it is to make the case for non-food aid items. We have learned that comparable dollars invested in seed, fertilizer and farm implements in the long run have more of a pay-off than comparable dollars invested directly in food. For the life of me, I cannot see why it is so much more difficult to make that case. It is beyond me. But we do know that.

We have learned the value of early warning systems and of being well-informed. We know that the investments we make at the very beginning of a crisis — and the sooner we get there the better — are more powerful and have more leverage than what we do later on down the trail. We have a good paper on lessons learned, and we will share it with Council members.

A question was also asked about capacity-building policy. I suspect we have not seen ourselves as capacity-builders. In Afghanistan, we did provide food to pay the compensation of 150,000 schoolteachers. They had nothing else with which to pay them in Afghanistan. We have also used food to pay for rebuilding the bureaucracy in Afghanistan. There are other examples where we have done things like that, but we generally look to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) to provide leadership in that sphere.

Here I must mention the issue of coordination and how we all work together. Rebuilding the capacity of education, agriculture and health in that part of the world is so critically important that we are all going to have to be a part of it.

The representative of France asked a question about coordination. I am not going to try to answer the question generally, but may I tell you that in Southern Africa the level of cooperation has been extraordinary. All of the United Nations agencies, plus the Southern African Development Community (SADC), the regional organization in Southern Africa, plus the International Committee for the Red Cross (ICRC) and non-governmental organizations, have come together into something called the United Nations Regional Inter-Agency Coordination Support Office (RIACSO). This is the regional coordinating arm of the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the World Health Organization (WHO), the Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS), UNDP, the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), WFP, the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO); there are about 100 people working

together to coordinate and cooperate on a regional basis. The response to the initiative in the six countries is that it works superbly well.

The Southern Africa crisis will be a food crisis for a few more months. I am hopeful that we will work our way out of the agricultural predicament. Going forward, there will be an enormous crisis in Southern Africa related to governance and related to HIV/AIDS. What form the lessons learned from RIACSO will take and how our work is re-formulated going forward are very important questions. Maybe, in part, this answers the question of the representative of Guinea.

The representative of the Syrian Arab Republic raised a question as it relates to Iraq, and a new role for WFP. May I express our gratitude to Syria and to the Islamic Republic of Iran. Both countries have made their own food reserves available to WFP to use in Iraq, where we can borrow from them as we need it, urgently and in a timely way. We will always repay them, but having the reserve right at hand has been a blessing to us.

The WFP, as I said, has been in Iraq for 12 years now. We have been a major implementer of the oil-for-food programme, directly implementing it in the north to about 4 million Kurds every day and helping to monitor it in the central and southern parts of the country. As we have been getting prepared for the conflict at hand, we have pre-positioned enough food in the countries on Iraq's perimeter to feed up to 2 million people for 30 days. So we have essentially focused on refugees or internally displaced persons who would make their way to the perimeter. We are now looking at a six-month programme that, in the first month, would focus on refugees and internally displaced persons — somewhere between 2 million and 4 million people. We are looking at ensuring that food is available in the second, third and fourth months to feed the entire population of Iraq — 27 million people.

Iraq is interesting in that 60 per cent of its people rely entirely on the central Government for food, and 100 per cent of its people rely on the central Government for part of their food. The country has had a successful public distribution system, with 44,000 outlets distributing food proceeds from the oil-for-food programme. So we would look at helping to ensure that there was a steady pipeline of adequate food resources available to feed Iraq's entire population for the second, third and fourth months. As the fifth and sixth months come along, we would assume that the oil-for-food programme would be fully back in place, administered by the Government of Iraq, and that our responsibility would be to continue to look after refugees, internally displaced persons and people who are very vulnerable. We feed about 700,000 people in Iraq who are very vulnerable, including those in orphanages, pregnant women and lactating mothers.

The World Food Programme is also the logistical arm of the United Nations. We run the United Nations Humanitarian Air Service, we manage the communication systems in Afghanistan — we went in with Ericsson and installed an entire communication system in Kabul — and we manage transportation, trucks and the fuel supply, among other things. As a part of the consolidated appeal process, in which the United Nations family came together to request $2.2 billion in the short term for humanitarian issues in Iraq, we have asked for $1.2 billion for food and $100 million for logistical activities.

Under resolution 1472 (2003), the oil-for-food resolution that the Security Council adopted a week ago Friday, the Council kindly gave us authority to have access to proceeds already encumbered through the oil-for-food programme as long as they were under transport within a period of 45 days. We have had only a short period of time in which to analyse the contracts, but our best estimate today is that $110 million of value will be available from the oil-for-food programme during that 45-day period to feed the people of Iraq. We are obviously very hopeful that the Council will find a way to extend the 45 days to a longer period of time and that it will address other footnote issues that are significant in terms of costs associated with transportation of those items.

That means we will need to ask the donors for at least $1.1 billion in help to fund the rest of the programme, and we are in the process of doing that now. We have had dozens of conversations with many Council member countries and with all of our donors, and those conversations are going very well, if I may say so. I suspect that we have more than half of what we will need under the current negotiations, and we have people in Rome — where we have our headquarters — and, in fact, all over the world working around the clock to put this package together.

The World Food Programme is a bit different in that sometimes it can take two, three or four months from the time a commitment is made until food is purchased, transported and delivered to someone. So timing is absolutely of the essence. But many countries have made generous commitments; we now have commitments from 11 countries. And I should say that commitments come from countries that have very different views of the conflict. One of our strengths has been that we keep a narrow focus on humanitarian issues. People may have one view or another of the conflict, but no one wants human beings to starve, especially very vulnerable people who are severely at risk. So countries that have different views of the conflict will be comfortable about helping us. Last week, we had a tremendous commitment from Germany to help. I had a wonderful two days in Berlin, and I am profoundly grateful for that.

My friend from Angola raised a question about the green revolution. I was saluting the Secretary-General for raising that issue and making that commitment. Worldwide, the trend is away from investment in basic agricultural infrastructure: in 1988, the world committed $14 billion to that programme; last year, it committed $8 billion. Now there is some good news: the United States and the United Kingdom have both begun to turn their investments around in this area. Last year, the United States committed $200 million more to investment in basic agricultural infrastructure than it had the year before. So the trend had been downward, but now there is a bit of hope that it is beginning to head in the other direction.

With regard to the question concerning Ethiopia, I am asked, "Jim, how can this happen again?" Well, our investments had been made in emergency relief as opposed to prevention and development, and I think we are beginning to learn that lesson. We are working closely with the FAO, the International Fund for Agricultural Development and other organizations.

Concerning the question from the representative of China, we have had a relationship with China for 40 years, and it is an extraordinary success story. China is one of the great success stories in the world in terms of letting the market function; hundreds of millions of people there who were not fed years ago are now fed. The agencies of the United Nations do work well together; we cooperate on these issues, and the notion of capacity for self-reliance is basic.

Mr. President, when I tried to address the question of the representative of the United Kingdom, I tried to answer your question as well, but we will provide a thoughtful answer as to what the Council could do to help us and how we could work more closely together. I am grateful for the offer, and we will try to provide a good answer.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): I thank Mr. Morris for his comments and his responses to questions raised concerning the subject of this afternoon's meeting. I should also like to thank him most especially for his willingness to respond to questions related to other items that were not on the agenda, in particular the situation in Iraq.

In that connection, various countries members of the Security Council have expressed interest in the possibility that, in the near future, the Council might be able to continue to engage in dialogue with Mr. Morris on the situation in Iraq and on the role that the World Food Programme will play. The presidency will consult with other Council members and with Mr. Morris to consider the possibility that, in the near future — before his return to the Programme's headquarters in Rome — he could meet in consultations with the Council in that regard.

There are no further speakers on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 5.10 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.4737

Security Council

Fifty-eighth year

Provisional

4737th meeting

Tuesday, 8 April 2003, 1.35 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Aguilar Zinser	(Mexico)
Members:	Angola	Mr. Lucas
	Bulgaria	Mr. Tafrov
	Cameroon	Mr. Tidjani
	Chile	Ms. Leyton
	China	Mr. Chen Xu
	France	Mrs. Gueguen
	Germany	Mr. Haupt
	Guinea	Mr. Traoré
	Pakistan	Mr. Khalid
	Russian Federation	Mr. Smirnov
	Spain	Ms. Menéndez
	Syrian Arab Republic	Mr. A'ala
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Ms. Howe-Jones
	United States of America	Mr. Cunningham

Agenda

The situation in Somalia.

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.

03-31294 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 1.35 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Somalia

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Somalia in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Hashi (Somalia) took a seat at the Council table.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/2003/408, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the Council's prior consultations.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Angola, Bulgaria, Cameroon, Chile, China, France, Germany, Guinea, Mexico, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Spain, Syrian Arab Republic, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1474 (2003).

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 1.45 p.m.